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MOKO RANGATIRA

Maori Tattoo

Kō Te Riria and David Simmons

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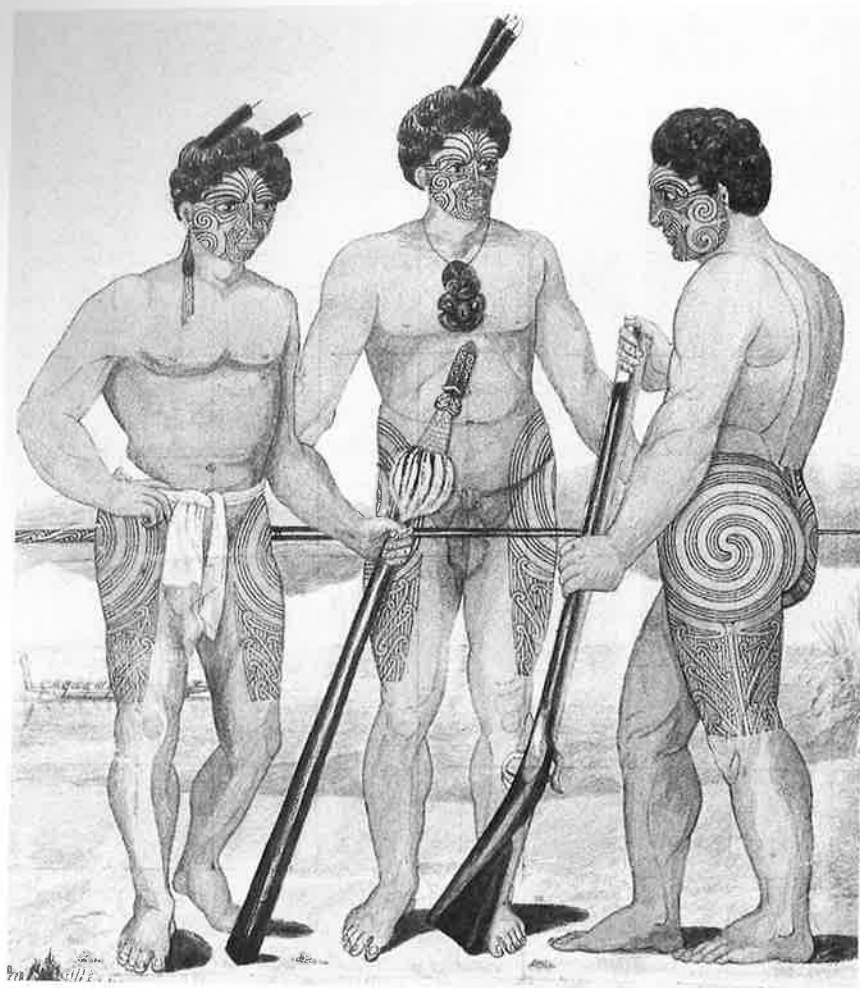
In keeping with ancient practice Kō Te Riria has not attempted to spell out all
details on how to understand moko. Knowledge can never be given without a
koha in return. The koha in this instance is your understanding and the effort
needed to arrive at that knowledge.

Ahu e huruhuru mākū e te rangi
Ahu e huruhuru wai e te rangi
Ahu e huruhuru papa e te rangi
Ahu e te puna wai mākū e te rangi
Ahu e wai māna e panekereru te rangi

Ko te karakia tēra a Māui he taumaha mō tēnei mahi whakamārama i tētahi wāhi
ahakoa iti noa atu o ngā wānanga o mua. Nōreira e ngā mate rongonui o namata
noa atu tae noa ki tēnei rā, haere koutou, haere koutou, haere koutou, ko ngā
whetū e aho ana i te rangi e tū he rama taketake.

The prayer above, Māui's karakia, is to lift the tapu from this small portion of the
ancient learning. First we must farewell the famous ancestors of ancient times
down to those of this day. Farewell, farewell, farewell, your eyes, the stars in the
sky will forever remain as beacons.

This book does not attempt to do more than give an idea of the wealth of mean-
ing in Māori tattoo patterns.



Three tattooed chiefs of high rank meeting at Atiamuri about 1850. Left is Tainui Hawea of the Taranaki and Tūhoe tribes, centre is Wāka Putere of Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Tūwharetoa, and right, Te Wairoa of Taranaki and Tūhoe tribes. All had graduated from the *whare wānanga*, as shown by the *rape* and *puhoro* designs on their buttocks and thighs respectively. In their persons they represent all the tribes from east to west. *Watercolour by Joseph Jenner Merret. Private collection*

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TATTOOING AROUND THE WORLD

Smooth tattoo

The Tahitian and northern Māori method of pricking the skin with a toothed tattooing comb carrying pigment leaves a smooth skin. Other Polynesian peoples use or used the same technique.

Nineteenth and twentieth century Māori tattooists used darning needles, which have the same effect as the modern tools now used in most parts of the world. These also leave a smooth skin.

Tattoo means to make an indelible pattern on the skin by inserting pigments through punctures made with a sharp instrument. The word was first used by Joseph Banks and James Cook when describing what they saw in Tahiti in 1769. Here is what Banks saw:

This morn I saw the operation of Tattowing the buttocks performed upon a girl of about 12 years old, it provd as I have always suspected a most painfull one. It was done with a large instrument about 2 inches long containing about 30 teeth, every stroke of this hundreds of which were made in a minute drew blood. The patient bore this for about 1/4 of an hour with most stoical resolution; by that time however the pain began to operate too stron[g]ly to be peaceably endurd, she began to complain and soon burst out into loud lamentations and would have fain have persuaded the operator to cease: she was however held down by two women who sometimes scolded, sometimes beat, at other times coaxd her ... This was one side only of her buttocks for the other had been done some time before.'

Tatau, spelt by Banks tattow, is a Tahitian word which has become tattoo. In the Cook Islands it was called tatatau. The Niuean of western Polynesia uses tā tatau but some other Polynesians use different words. The Marquesans say tiki while the Māori of New Zealand use moko or whakairo which has the extra meaning of carving.

The description of Tahitian tattoo can be matched with another of the techniques seen at Doubtless Bay in 1769 by Pottier de L'Horme who was with de Surville.

They use for this purpose a piece of wood bent at one end to make a right angle and very sharp at the end. They strike on this wood with another piece, and make the part of the body which is to be painted bleed slightly according to the design that they wish to follow. They then apply some very fine charcoal powder. They do this operation very quickly and once done it never disappears.²

The same technique is mentioned by Roux who was with Marion du Fresne in the Bay of Islands in 1772.

All the men of any importance are marked with various designs on the face or on the thighs. They make designs with little sharp pointed tools of bone. They put the juice of some plant we don't know, into the pricks. These designs can never be rubbed off.³

In 1769 in the Bay of Islands Banks was shown the tools.

One of the old men here shewd us the instruments with which they stain their bodies which was exactly like those used at Otahite.⁴

They had a much larger quantity of Amoco or black stains on their bodies or faces: almost universally they had a broad spiral on each buttock and many had their thighs almost intirely black, small lines only being left untouched so that they looked like striped breaches.⁵

Like modern tattoo this style of tattoo is smooth to the touch; this was not so on the East Coast.

Grooved tattoo

The Māori way of carving the skin to make a groove then inserting the pigment was most unusual. In the early nineteenth century it became the main technique, taking over the smooth skin tattoo style of the north.

The people were in general of a midling size tho there was one who measurd more than 6 feet ... Their lips were staid with something put under the skin (as in Otahite tattow) and their faces markd with deeply engravd furrows colourd also black and formd in regular spirals; of these the oldest people had much the greatest quantity and deepest channelled, in some not less than 1/16 part of an inch. Their hair always black was tied on the tops of their heads in a little knot, in which was stuck feathers of various birds.⁶

This sort of tattoo involved carving the skin, as Parkinson, the artist with Captain Cook in 1769, said of Tolaga Bay:

their tattaowing is done very curiously in spiral and other figures; and in many places indented into their skins, which looks like carving; though at a distance appears as if it had been only smeared with black paint. This tattaowing is peculiar to the principal men among them.⁷

A manuscript written in Māori by Te Rangikaheke of the Ngāti Rangiwewewe tribe of Te Arawa tells how this sort of tattooing was done. It was written down before 1853.

It is the chisel which cuts but before the cut there is the drawing, the putting on of the pattern. Drawing is the beginning of tattooing. Afterwards the tohunga takes up the chisel and the mallet. Then it starts, the first chisel struck does not notch the skin. It is a big chisel, a broad chisel. When he arrives at the curves he takes a narrow chisel to use in the curves by the eyes. The first tattooing is an opening of the way, a cutting of the skin, of the flesh of the body to divide it, in order to open a groove. When the way is opened then the tohunga takes the notched chisel. Then the tohunga takes the charcoal and the tow in one hand. The chisel is also in this hand, the left. In the right hand is the mallet, the charcoal and the tow, three things in one hand. The notched chisel is to notch the face to make the charcoal hold. This is the second chisel, the opening is the one which cuts. A broad chisel [is used again] until the temple is reached, that to the eyes, when a narrow chisel is taken again to do the curves right and is also right for the pākati [between line notches].⁸



Grooved tattoo on a parata, a mask fixed under a canoe prow. The open mouth is a sign of tapu and this is also indicated by the tattoo. The father's side (left of face) is the supreme human line (ira tangata), the earthly line which joins its blood to the female (ira atua), that is, the godly line which begat the waiora, the waters of life, the gift of the gods to man. The issue of a human male and godly female was Hema, father of Tāwhaki. Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh (1956 – 848)

Raised tattoo

Another way of tattooing used in Australia, New Guinea and parts of Africa, among those peoples who can do so, is to put ash or other foreign matter in the cut, so that it forms a raised or keloid scar. This makes a raised tattoo.

Tribal cuts

The tribal cuts of many African and other peoples may be kept open until they heal as unpigmented cuts, or are allowed to heal as scars. These are often combined with raised scars.

Unpigmented tattoo is sometimes used as a secret initiation mark. It is often placed on areas of the body not normally uncovered.

1. Beaglehole 1963 Vol I p 309
2. McNab 1914 Vol II pp 324-5
3. McNab 1914 Vol II pp 374-5
4. Beaglehole 1963 Vol I p 443
5. Beaglehole 1963 Vol I p 439
6. Beaglehole 1963 Vol I p 407
7. Parkinson 1784 p 97
8. Te Rangikaheke ms p 449 trans. D.R.S.

THE IMPORTANCE OF TATTOO

Who was tattooed

Rank, status, achievements, membership and even life history are some of the reasons why people were or are tattooed. Tattoo can be used to mark rank, though sometimes its absence is also important. The paramount chief of Māui in the Hawaiian Islands in 1778 had half circles tattooed on either side of a partially shaved head.⁹

Most of the Chiefs were entirely free from these marks on every part of them, tho' we saw a few who had them, but never any marked in the face. This Custom of tattawing seems to be used among these people as a Mortification or at least in remembrance of the dead: most of those who were tattowed informed us that they bore these Marks in Memory of Ke-owa and Arapai both great Chiefs & probably Kings of the Island.¹⁰

Hawaiian women were tattooed on the hands and tongue.¹¹
James Cook said of Hawaiian tattoo:

Tattowing or staining the skin is practised here, but not in a high degree, nor does it appear to be directed by any particular mode but rather by fancy. The figures were straight lines, Stars & Ca and many had the figure of the Taame or brea[s]t plate of Otahiete, though we saw it not among them.¹²

The taame was the fan of Hawaii. According to Hawaiian oral tradition this motif tattooed on the shoulder of a regional chief together with the symbol of the district showed who he was. The number of times the symbol was repeated indicated the number of warriors under his command.

The Tahitian chiefs had more tattoo than other people. The designs were stars, circles, lozenges and other figures but also with patterns taken from nature, a chief's legs being marked with the stem and crown of a coconut. The feet and ankles looked as though sandals were being worn and the sides of the legs and back were given parallel curved or zigzag lines. The breast was often tattooed

Moko Rangatira Māori Tattoo

with realistic figures of trees and animals, or scenes including the carrying of a sacrifice to the temple.¹³ Women of chiefly rank had tattooed feet. Their arms were frequently marked with circles, their fingers with rings, their wrists with bracelets. The Arioi society of young people of chiefly rank were tattooed according to their rank within the society. The 'arches upon the loins upon which they value themselves',¹⁴ were for both men and women and varied according to the rank of the individual. The same idea is used in Samoa and formerly in Tonga.

Margaret Mead recorded in Samoa in 1930:

*The high chief's son is circumcised and tattooed with ceremony, the sons of talking chiefs being called in to share his pain.*¹⁵

The complete head to toe tattoo of the Marquesans and almost complete tattoo of the Easter Islanders probably also depended on rank or achievement. Lieutenant Pickersgill, who was with Captain Cook in 1774, was greeted by,

*a man seemingly of some note, he was a stout made man with a fine open countenance, his face painted, his body tatowed and something whiter than the rest and he wore a better ah-hou, ... they told us he was the arreeke of the island which they call'd Wy-hu [Vaihu, a district of the island], this they seem'd all to agree in.*¹⁶

Most of the European travellers were not in an area long enough to work out who were the people of importance. They could only observe those who appeared to be so. Some of the missionaries were in a position to know but more often than not were not prepared to notice other than pre-eminence through adherence to Christian (English) mores. Tattooing was associated with war and, in some islands, with cannibalism.¹⁷

Māori moko was certainly a badge of distinction. Te Pēhi Kupe, hereditary ariki of Ngāti Toa, said when in England in 1826 'Europee man write with pen his name — Te Pēhi's is here.' He pointed to his forehead.

Dumont d'Urville wrote after his visit in 1826 that the moko,

*is not allowed to the slaves, to the general public, and even to those who dare not join in the combats unless they are authourised to wear them on account of high birth. Tuai assured me that the general public acquire the right of moko by means of exploits of war, and after an honourable campaign the chiefs generally added some new designs in token thereof.*¹⁸

Moko was not confined to families of rank; it could be earned by warriors and others of distinction. However, the quantity, quality and many of the patterns could only be applied to ranking individuals.

Rank is not the same as class. It is correct that there were three classes in Māori society: rangatira (chiefs), tūtūā (commoners) and taurekareka (slaves).

The importance of tattoo



Te Rēinga Ritenga Maroro is the name of this box. It was made to contain a sacred adze Iriperi, between the time when the taipuru has died, the handle removed and buried with him, and the new taipuru installed. At that time a new handle was made and the box placed back in the cave. This box is referred to as Te Ō ō Mahumahu, literally the container of Mahumahu (renewal) or the place where the spirits sleep. The cave that contained the box was at Te Rēinga, now Cape Rēinga. On the male side the figure is ira atua, who mated with the ira tangata, the male. The issue of a human female and godly male was Tāwhaki whose descendants are the arikinui, the rightful holders of Iriperi. The female side has the titi design of the supreme taipuru on the forehead, the male side has nothing. In the Dawson catalogue of 1851 this box is said to depict 'Taowyyca, god of lightning'. Compare this box with the parata on page 9. *British Museum, London (1904 – 204)*

Rangatira as a chiefly class included rangatira (chiefs of villages) who were appointed for life by the elders of the village or by high chiefs (ariki). Above them were the kaitahutahu (appointed) ariki, appointed because of ability, perhaps to succeed the father but not necessarily so. An ariki is a chief of a wāka or number of tribal units. Similarly an arikinui or kaitahutahu arikinui was appointed to unite a confederation of tribes and was recognised as the paramount chief.

The ranks above these were aho ariki which were hereditary provided both sides of mother and father were of equal rank, or succession was confirmed by superiors or peers. These ranks were the konini, appointed to govern a tribal confederation usually as a reward for outstanding service. The recipient was of the aho ariki, a younger son of the higher ranks. This title sometimes appears as nene or nini. The nōaia were the younger sons or descendants of teina (younger) line of the aho ariki. They were the warriors who supported the upper ranks.

Ahupiri were paramount chiefs who had in their care a district comprising more than one confederation of tribes.

The topmost rank was the taipuru, the tuakana (eldest) line, the eldest son of

the eldest son back to the gods. The preferred descent was through the male line but the female line was also recognised if a male line was not available.

These distinctions of rank may be traced in moko. Interpreting the symbols of moko, it is possible to establish the mana and status of its wearer, their line of descent and tribal affiliations. The moko becomes a personal signature.

In 1859 Dr A.S. Thomson said of the tribes:



Kō Te Riria Waikato (Taiea) Whareherehere, Te Arikiniui Kō Huiarau as drawn by G.F. Angas in 1844. Waikato was the paramount chief of the United Tribes. He signed the Treaty at Mahia. His forehead design is that of a person who had authority; note the circles. A spiral at the corner of the eyes is a sign that he was tapu. The hooks inside the lines from the nose are signs that he was of the first line on both sides. The outward hooks under the nose are again supreme authority and the mouth rays symbolise the belt of both sides. The lower jaw spirals indicate command over all warriors (of the United Tribes). Angas, 1847

Every nation contained six classes of persons:-

The Ariki, or priest and chief, corresponding to the king.

The Tana [actually the Tiana or tiane], or next in succession, corresponding to the royal family.

The rangatira, or chieftains, corresponding to the nobility.

The Tūtūā, or middle classes.

The Ware, or lower classes.

The Taurekareka, or slaves.

These six ranks are not well defined, and are rarely distinguished unless by those who have carefully enquired into the subject. The name of king is opposite the term Ariki but perhaps pope would be more applicable, as the Ariki possessed both spiritual and temporal power. The individuals composing these ranks rarely changed from one to another, although there was movement among the first five; but this movement was generally downwards, rarely upwards.¹⁹

Elsdon Best dismisses this 'scheme of six classes' as quite impossible.²⁰ However, it is clear that Thomson is talking about ranks, not classes, and this generally agrees with the information given by Te Riria, Te Arikiniui Kō Huiarau, included above.²¹

There were corresponding female ranks. Occasionally the highest-

ranking individual in the wāka or confederation was female, who would then be the taiopuru and given the rights and privileges of a man. Usually the highest female rank was tapairu, the eldest daughter of the taiopuru, or of the second and third lines. Next was the ahukiruku, equivalent to ahupiri, then the noawanui, both of whom were often referred to as māreikura. These were the hereditary ranks confirmed by parents or superiors and could also include women granted the rank for their lifetime.

The non-hereditary female ranks were appointed by parents, superiors or tribal council as kaitahutahu arikinui or ariki and included women who had special functions such as teachers of weaving.

The ranks were reflected in the tattoo as were special vocations and life history. A person who was confirmed as the successor to his dead father of the aho ariki would have had a similar, though not identical, tattoo to that of his father. A person raised in rank would have had that included in his tattoo as it gave him the right to command. A person who became famous as tohunga, gardener, carver or warrior would be raised in rank if not already of high rank and this fact was recorded in the tattoo. A slave could thus be honoured.

The tattooing of people of status was pur-

A poutokomanawa, now in Scotland, depicting Tamatea Pōkai Whenua, also known as Tamatea Arikiniui, the captain of the *Takitimu* canoe and father of Kahungunu, ancestor of Ngāti Kahu in Northland and Ngāti Kahungunu in Hawkes Bay. There are three spirals in the forehead each side, the three lines that became the thirteen hapū of Ngāti Kahungunu. The two spirals in the tiwhana are one of the north, the other of the south, indicating authority over both areas. The pūtaranga design is that of a carver. Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh (1956 - 847)



poseful, that is, it was according to a carefully worked out system used to convey information. The decorative elements of the Tahitian tattoo may be just that or they may appear so because we do not understand the system.

Tattoo as decoration

Sailors' tattoos, which may have started in Tahiti in the eighteenth century, can be regarded as purely decorative. However, like the tattoo put on by prison inmates or worn by Japanese gangsters, such tattoos may be a fraternity badge and therefore have significance.

Tattoo as protest

Young people who protest by putting on a tattoo do so to emphasise the alienation of themselves from the mainstream of society. It may also be a fraternity badge in that such tattoo separates them out, so it is a protest even though at the same time it allies them with a group of other young people.

Māori and Pacific Island youngsters use tattoo to protest their loss of heritage. Some of the motifs are taken from their traditional art forms, or what they see as such in books. Other motifs are shock words, names or items borrowed from other sub-cultures overseas.

9. Samwell 1967 p 1151
10. Samwell p 1178
11. Samwell p 1181
12. Cook 1967 Vol I p 280
13. Ellis 1831 Vol I p 265
14. Banks 1967 Vol I p 309
15. Mead 1969 p 113
16. Pickersgill 1961 p 341
17. Robley 1896 p 15
18. d'Urville 1830 Vol 2 p 449
19. Thomson 1859 Vol I p 94
20. Best 1924 Vol I p 351
21. See also Simmons 1986 pp 129–143



Raised scar tattoo on the face, back and arm of a Nubian dancer in Sudan. *Leni Riefenstahl*

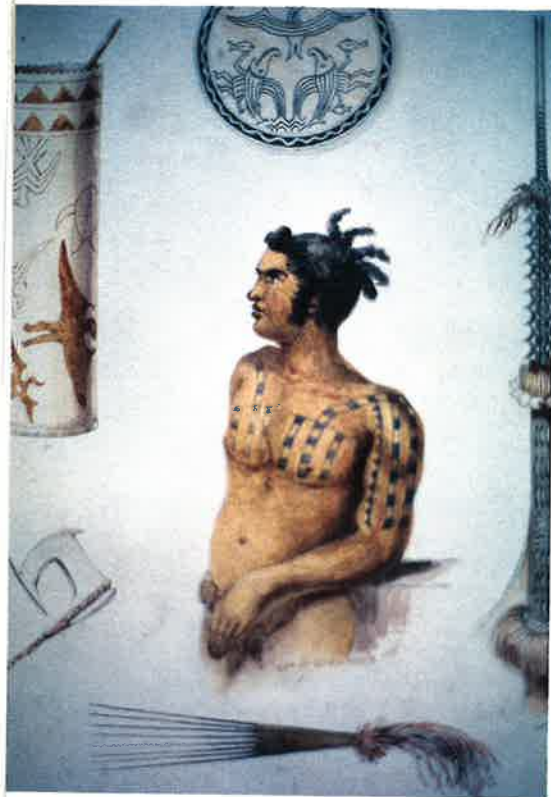


Smooth tattoo on women on the island of Oulan (Kusaie), part of the Caroline Islands in Micronesia, as recorded by Le Jeune and Chazal in 1824. *Duperrey*



Smooth tattoo on men of Tikopia, a Polynesian outlier island in the Solomon Islands. Drawn by de Sainson of d'Urville's voyage in 1826–29.

Moko Rangatira Māori Tattoo



Above: Smooth tattoo adorning a man of Stewart Island, a Polynesian outlier in the Solomon Islands, as drawn by John Webster in 1850. *Auckland War Memorial Museum Library (PD 43 (54))*

Right: Easter Island back tattooing on a bark cloth covered figure, collected in the early nineteenth century and now in the Peabody Museum, Harvard. Rapanui (Easter Island) tattoo was from head to toe.



Below: Smooth tattoo on men and women of Rotuma, a Polynesian island in the Fiji group, drawn by Le Jeune and Chazal in 1824–26. *Duperrey*



Abb. 81. ALTE KRIEGER LANGSDORFFS. BLUTE DEN SCHACHORNAMENTEN UND KUPPENMUSTERN. 1804. Kupfer X. 1/2. d. Orig. Vgl. S. 141.



Above left: An idealised version of the all-over tattoo of the Marquesas Islands (probably on Nukuhiva) in Kruzenstern's voyage in 1804. *Steinen*

Above: A Hawaiian man dancing. Lithograph after Webber, drawn on Captain Cook's third voyage in 1779. Note tattooing on the thighs and arms. *Cook's Voyages*

Left: A Hawaiian high chief, Ooro, with the fan design on his shoulder indicating that he was in charge of Ouriouriou district. He also has smaller designs, probably showing which area and armies he commanded. Drawn by Lerago in 1819 during Freycinet's expedition. *Arago*



Above: Rarotongan tattoo designs on the figure of a god said to be invoked by fishermen. This figure, collected by the Reverend John Williams in 1833, is now in the British Museum (9866).



Above right: A parata from a canoe made at Thames. The canoe was either a war canoe built to avenge the death of the chief depicted or a burial canoe made to take his remains. It was probably a war canoe as burial canoes were usually buried on the site and this parata does not appear to have been buried. The chief's father was a high-ranking individual of Tūwharetoa directly descended from the taiopuru line. His mother was of a lower rank whose father or grandfather was a carver. The chief has been given a rank equivalent to his father's and given authority in the area. His father, or the man himself, would also appear to have been a carver. Auckland War Memorial Museum (5999). Presented by John White in 1915

MĀORI TATTOO

The place of tattoo in Māori society

Māori moko for men was a sign of their rank, status and virility. This waiata (song) illustrates the attraction of moko:

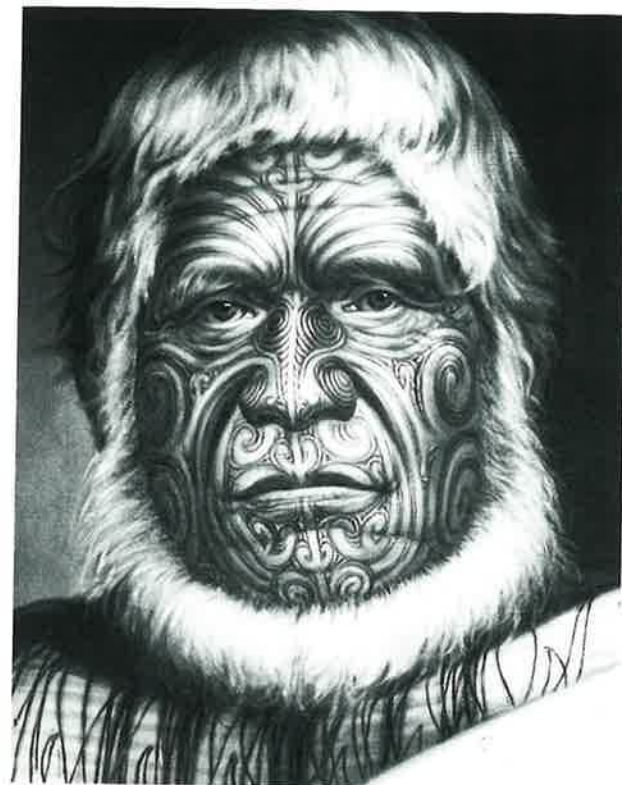
Kaore te aroha
E huri i roto rā
Tau kei Kapiti
E moea atu nei
Ōku wairangi ki te tangi
Kau atu
Karea kautia
Kō koe, nā e Rua!
Tara te kōrero
Ka tikanga, e te rau
Ka pīrangī te hua āku
Ka moko te rere
I ō rua ura
He kupenga
E au rā kina mai
Waihoki a koe a
He moana tai tuku
Te kitea atu au
He horanga mutara nau na!
He ware kei tawhiti na koe
Ka tika uru pū
Te aroha i au

It is love
Overflowing inside me
You are at Kapiti
I dream here
Heavy with tears
All alone
Longing only
For you, oh Rua!
The gossip is wrong
Desiring a child
The two sides of your cheeks
Are tattooed
They are a net
And I am caught
You are an ebbing tide
I see out there
Spread out
Everywhere!
You are distant and unknown
Yet my love for you
Still remains.²²

As James Cowan remarked in 1910, 'the face-moko is the true finishing adornment, in his eyes, of the chieftain and the toa'.²³

The grand ornament of all was the moko or tattoo: this was in general use. All ranks were thus ornamented; a papatea, or plain face, was a term of reproach. Some were more fully tattooed than others, but all were more or less so. The grand chiefs had their faces and thighs entirely covered with this ornamental renting of the skin.²⁴

Moko served to identify people of rank, to give recognition to achievers, and to provide a clearly identifiable authority structure. These latter elements were, as



Te Hapuku, Te Ika o Te Moana, paramount chief of Ngāti Kahungunu of Hawkes Bay. He was the direct descendant of Tamatea Pōkai Whenua (see photograph on page 15). He was the paramount chief of the southern area of the tribe, the eldest on his mother's and father's side. The design under the nose is that of protected knowledge and the design on the chin is that of the kōhere, the governor of the area. This also shows he belongs to the third line from the taiopuru being descended from the second son of the taiopuru. He died in 1878. Painted by Lindauer in 1877. Auckland City Art Gallery

we shall see, a result of being able to 'read' the tattoos. The tattoo was thus a system of giving information as well as visibly supporting the status system.

Tattoo combined with other symbols left no doubt as to the identity of a person. A dogskin cloak could be worn by a chief in charge of warriors. This would also be indicated by his moko. An example was Tamati Wāka Nene who wore a dogskin at Waitangi on 6 February 1840. As the appointed negotiator he was paramount on that occasion. His moko, combined with the cloak, showed he was the man.

These indications, moko and taonga, were so clear that it was very bad manners to ask a person who he was. Failure to recognise a great chief could be regarded as an insult, even if the people had never seen him before. Insults were avenged by war.

Changing fashions in Māori tattoo

The northern style of smooth skin or puhoro tattoo was gradually replaced by the grooved whakairo tattoo. However, it was not a simple replacement of one style by another. In the late eighteenth century there were northern raids down the east coast to Hauraki. One of these had just occurred when Cook was at Whitianga in November 1769. The Ngāti Hei pā known as Whitianga Rock had just been burnt.²⁵ The first trade in tattooed heads started with Joseph Banks buying a head at Queen Charlotte Sound on 20 January 1770.²⁶ By 1807 the Ngāpuhi had acquired and were using guns.²⁷ The northern tribes needed more

guns while other tribes had yet to get them. Europeans were ready to supply guns and powder at a price: a shipload of dressed flax, or two tons of potatoes, or two

dried tattooed heads. The easiest to get were heads. There are three heads said to be collected by Captain Wilson of the *Duff* and taken to England where they were landed in 1798.²⁸ Two of these heads are done partly or wholly after death, suggesting that the trade was well established by 1796–98. The *Duff* did not call at New Zealand. Captain Wilson probably got the heads in Sydney, again showing the early date of the trade.

When Governor King of New South Wales returned the two kidnapped Māori from Norfolk Island in 1793 he described Koto-ko-ke, the principal chief of Ngāti Kuri, Te Rarawa or Te Aupouri then living at North Cape,

*who appeared to be about seventy years of age, had not a visible feature, the whole of the face being covered with spiral lines.*²⁹

Tuki and Huru, the two young men he brought back, were both tattooed on the hips but not on the face.

In 1806 Governor King's description of Te Pāhi of Ngāti Rehia was:

*Tip-a-hee is 5 feet 11 inches high, stout, and extremely well made. His age appears about 46 or 48. His face is completely tattooed with the spiral marks shown in Hawkesworths and Cook's second voyage; which, with similar marks on his hips and other parts of his body, point him out as a considerable chief or Etangatida Etikitia of the first class.*³⁰

John Savage, who was in the Bay of Islands in September 1805, observes:

*this society is divided into classes, each distinguished by devices variously tattooed on their faces or persons.*³¹

He illustrates Tiarrah (Tareha) of Ngāti Rehia with spiral tattoo on his face but of whom also,

*the pantaloons, particularly the posterior part, are in general very highly embroidered, and of which they are not a little vain.*³²

A Catholic priest, Catherin Servant, writing before 1842 was able to say:

*The distinctive mark of the chiefs is not only the face tattooing, for subordinate chiefs and even people of lower class have this tattooing in common with them, but the very distinct mark of the chiefs is the tattooing on the inside of the thigh, descending in varying degree towards the knee according to their greater or lesser standing. This mark is called puhoro. The distinctive mark of high-ranking woman is the tattooing of both upper and lower lips, and two long lines of tattooing drawn in the middle of the forehead.*³³

As the grooved tattoo in spiral forms moved north so the proud buttock tattoo of

the north became the more general warrior adornment of the southern tribes. Puhoro tattoo was used in the south, particularly as the mark of a tohunga, but in the nineteenth century became more general as a grooved rape (buttock) tattoo. In this form it was taken back to the north.

In the early nineteenth century male moko came under attack from the missionaries. J.L. Nicholas in 1817 said:

*It is to be hoped that this barbrous practice will be abolished in time among the New Zealanders: and that the missionaries will exert all the influence they are possessed of to dissuade them from it.*³⁴

In 1859 A.S. Thomson said:

*Tattooing is now going out of fashion, partly from the influence of the missionaries, who describe it as the Devil's Art, but chiefly from the example of the settlers.*³⁵

Male moko revived briefly during the nationalistic wars of 1864–68 but the last of the tattooed men of olden times died in the 1920s.

At the same time as male moko was declining and finally ending, female moko was becoming more popular. Eventually female moko took over as the marker of families of rank. This development can be dated to between 1820 and 1840. By 1844, when George French Angas was painting in the Waikato, female moko there had reached its full flower. In contrast to an area like the Bay of Islands, Waikato female moko appears quite standardised. The patterns used the same ideas that have persisted to the present day.

In the late nineteenth century female moko underwent one of a series of revivals. About 1910 a new technique replaced the bone or later steel blades. This was the use of grouped darning needles. Between 1920 and 1942 there was a demand for the services of tattooists and practitioners like Herewini of Ngāti Porou, Aterea of Tūhoe, Kuhukuhu of Waikato, Anaru Makiwhara of Ngāi Tai and Tame Poata of Ngāti Porou, who often had to resort to mass tattooings to satisfy that demand.

Māori tattoo at the end of the twentieth century

Traditional tattooing was last practised in 1952 but that has not stopped some women and a few men from using the services of professional Pākehā tattooists to have a moko put on. Some of these have been done in the old way at the request of the elders. The few remaining kuia moko (tattooed older women) have a very special place as a living creative link with the past.

22. Servant 1973 p 42, corrected
23. Cowan 1910 p 188
24. Taylor 1855 p 150
25. Cook 1955 p 198
26. Cook 1955 p 237
27. Smith 1910 p 40
28. Oldman 1946 p 1
29. McNab 1914 Vol II p 547
30. McNab 1908 p 264
31. Savage 1807 p 20
32. Savage 1820 p 47
33. Servant 1973 p 14
34. Nicholas 1817 Vol 1 p 360
35. Thomson 1859 1 pp 77–8

THE MĀORI MOKO SYSTEM

Te tuhi moko

Given by Te Riria, Ariki Taiopuru Kō Huiarau. Written by D.R.S.

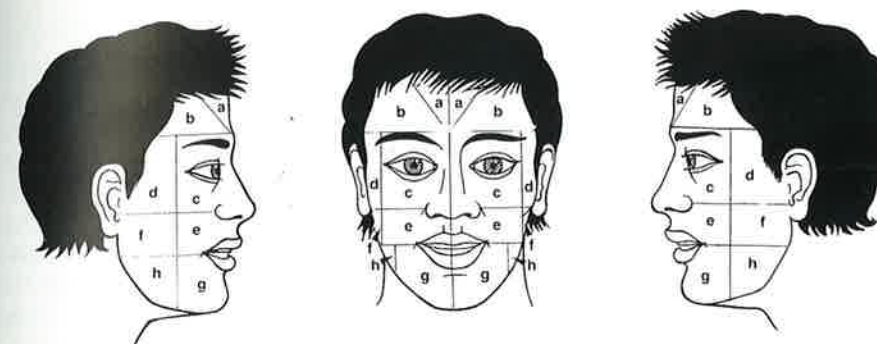
The various levels or ranks of Māori society each had their own recognisable tattoo marks. While lineage or descent was important, that descent had to be recognised formally by the parents or superiors, and was a necessary condition before a tattoo could be done. A formal rise in rank could be granted by the whare wānanga (the college of learning) and by superiors, particularly the ahupiri council and the taiopuru. Such a rise could be for the lifetime of the recipient or be hereditary and this was noted on the tattoo. Recognised hereditary rank and achieved rank were two aspects marked in the tattoo. A further complication was that of the people of high status who served the upper ranks as warriors, gardeners and servants. These would have been marked with their rank as well as their occupation. Usually rank was marked before occupation.

Information carried by the moko was the same over the whole country, though it may have been given in slightly different ways depending on the tribal moko style, individual artists and local innovations.

Note by D.R.S: The names of the ranks given earlier — taiopuru and tapairu, ahupiri, nōaia, konini, kaitahutahu ariki, kaitahutahu arikinui, rangatira, tūtūā, and for the divisions of the face and so on — are given in the ariki or chiefly language. Such knowledge is referred to as ariki knowledge and in former times could only be taught within the whare wānanga where the chiefly language was used.

The patterns and meaning of male moko

The face divides in two along the centre line with each side being concerned with a different ancestry. In most tribes the left side (taha māui) of a living person is the side of the father, while the right (taha matau) is the mother's side. For Te Arawa and Ngāi Tahu this system is reversed. While the designs placed in the facial divisions appear to be symmetrical they are not necessarily so. Likewise one side may have no design as that side of the ancestry was not entitled to have a design in that area, in other words was not of that rank. The main divisions of the face and the designs placed in them are as follows.



Ngākaipikirau

The first section comprises the two triangular areas either side of the centre line on the forehead. It is reserved for signs of rank — taiopuru, ahupiri, arikinui and ariki — and for rank conferred on a person of lower status. A person not having any of the above status inherited from one or both sides will have no tattoo in this area.

The designs (ipurangi, tonokai, titi) placed here vary according to the ariki status of the individual. The ariki are direct descendants of the gods on a primogeniture line therefore in this section reserved for them, the meaning of the moko patterns is te wairua tapu, the heavenly waters which give life, and te ira atua and te ira tangata, the life force of the gods and the life force of man respectively. The patterns are for a taiopuru, a scroll either side of the centre line which links into a centre line spiral, with a pair of down-curving spirals above and two pairs of circles below on either side of the centre line. The scroll form (ipu rangi) is open to the top to allow the waters of life, te wairua tapu, of e mākū i te rangi to enter. On an ahupiri the scroll is made with single-element spirals.

Beneath this are found paired koru (clubbed-end) spirals either side of the centre line. These may point down in which case authority is over the south of the area, upwards showing authority over the north, or to the left and right showing authority over the east and west respectively. Spirals in Ngākaipikirau instead of the scroll are a sign that the person has been granted a rank of kaitahutahu arikinui and is a kohe, a name for a chief put in charge of a tribal area.

Divisions of the face:

- Ngākaipikirau (rank), titi design, centre forehead.
- Ngūnga (position), tiwhana and ngūnga designs, brows.
- Uirere (hapū rank), pōngiangia and paepae designs, eyes, nose.
- Uma (first or second marriage), pūtaringa design, temples.
- Raurau (signature), pītau, rerepehi designs, under nose.
- Taiohou (work), pūtaka design, cheek.
- Wairua (mana), pūkauwae design, chin.
- Taitoto (birth status), riparipa design, jaw.

Ngūnga

Comprises the triangular areas at either side of the forehead above the eyebrows and either side of Ngākaipikirau. The symmetrical-appearing rays indicate the position in life by the number and arrangement of the rays and the smaller motifs placed within the rays. The top nose spiral also features as part of ngūnga.

The rays (tiwhana) above the eyebrows indicate a descendant of the first line, a descendant of the second line or a person raised to the nōaia rank. These rays will comprise three or four lines depending on the rank. A person raised to the nōaia rank by the taiopuru may have only the beginnings of the rays. The outer corner of the lower ray where it curves down past the eye will have a comma shape (rewha) with some pākati in the inner curve. This is confirmation that the rank has been conferred by the taiopuru (five pākati) or by the tribe (no pākati). The rays may have an extra curl (pūkoru) into the corner of the eye; this indicates that the rank descends to his son. The upper spiral on the nose is ngūnga or ngāngū. Ngūnga is the place where the baskets of knowledge are stored. The spiral can refer to knowledge. An empty spiral signifies that knowledge and therefore shows that the wearer is a tohunga. A two-line spiral with three lines cutting it by the eye indicates an expert in korero, story or history and genealogies.

A two-line open spiral associated with motifs on the chin, that is a koru anchor to the point of the chin, indicates a teacher of weapons. A teacher of gardening is shown in the same way but with an 'S' shape on the chin. A tight spiral at the root of the nose is the sign of a pūkōrero (orator), while a diamond shows a messenger for the taiopuru.

Uirere

This section is either side of the nose to the edge of the eyes down to a line equal to the point of the nose. This area is reserved for tribal identification. Uirere was used to identify the tribe of the individual and whether he was the eldest son. The upper cheek spirals on either side identify the tribe by iapū of the mother or father.

On the sides of the nose, the design (pōniana or pōngiangia) consists of a curving line from the bottom of the upper spiral to the centre line at the point of the nose. The line may there form a small spiral on either side of the tip; these are a sign of hereditary or achieved rank. The large lower nose spiral (hūpē) can be decorated with spikes (whakatara) in which case the person is or was a warrior, the number of spikes showing which tribe he was a warrior for. A person of nōaia rank was quite likely to have been a warrior early in life, then to have succeeded to a rank or been granted a rank later in life with further tattoo being done. The area between the curved line and the centre line usually has horizontal lines across it. These identify the tribe of the father (left) and mother (right) or the other way round in Te Arawa and Ngāi Tahu.

In the same way the upper cheek spirals (paepae) are connected to the nose by three lines if the rank is hereditary, two lines if the rank is granted. The spiral may be composed of three, two or one line depending on the rank of the mother

or father. An open two-line spiral on the cheek is an indication that the person could command people of higher rank. An open spiral with two lines on the top indicates that the first line became extinct and was succeeded by the second. This is associated with the beginning of the paepae spiral. The eldest son on the mother's or father's side only is able to inherit the mana of the tribe as shown by the paepae spirals. Absence of a spiral means a younger son. A person raised in rank who is the eldest son will be given spirals as the first of the line. A person who is descended from the second line will have the beginning of the spirals on the cheek but can never have spirals unless he is raised in rank and becomes the first of a new line.

Uma

This area is from the temple to the centre of the ear on either side of the face. It contains information about the father's or mother's lineage, descent, that is, whether from first or second marriage, and any rise in rank.

The patterns (koroaha or rahauhau) in front of the ear (pūtaringa) are usually koru, spirals made by making grooved parallel dark lines in the background and so leaving the pattern in clear skin. This has the same effect as the puhoro style where a comb is used to prick the skin. The double koru anchor pattern facing down is the second line of descent from a nōaia. An anchor shape pointing in from the ear is for service to the taiopuru, usually as a warrior. An anchor pointing to the ear and surrounded by a line is the protected borders of Ko Huiarau (the United Tribes) within which the chief commands the warriors. An anchor pointing down implies a knowledge of medicine.

North, south, east and west markers for authority within the tribal area may also be placed in front of the ear, usually as single koru.

Raurau

These are the two areas either side of the point of the nose taking in the cheeks to the mouthline. This can also be called the upper lip area in which the tapāwaha pattern is placed. The area beneath the nose contains the signature or identification of the person and whether they are under the protection of a taiopuru, ahupiri, arikinui or ariki. This applies to tribal or iwi tohunga or to people protected for political reasons.

The rays (rerepehi) from mouth to chin give the position whether from birth, in war or as an orator. There are usually three lines of three lines with the fourth only a half line ending in a curved symbol of two lines with internal whakatara (wero). When a person was raised in rank the fourth was joined to the nose. The pītau design under the nose can be a pair of koru starting at the centre line. This indicates a marriage into the third line thus confirming a rise in rank. Two pendant barbed fishhook shapes turned out in this area are a sign of supreme mana. Inward-turned simple fishhooks are an indication that the person is of ahupiri rank. These are accompanied by internal lines beside the centre line. An upward koru anchor and outward-turned hooks indicate that the wearer is of nōaia rank.

The same upward anchor and spirals indicate a kaitahutahu ariki, a rise in rank.

A tribal chief would have spirals starting from the bottom lip. Small outer spirals indicate descent from the first, second or third line. A downward anchor shape with the scroll design e mākū i te rangi is an indication of protected knowledge, that the person is a tohunga. Small koru at the corner of the lips show the person is or was a warrior.

Taiohou

This is on either side of raurau between the mid-cheek and jaw line. It is the section in which work identification is placed, such as master carver, gardener and so on.

The sign for a carver is the scroll design e mākū i te rangi, also a sign that the person has been through the whare wānanga. A clear skin line with an upright koru is the sign of a tohunga of the upper way, a pendant koru a tohunga of the lower way. An anchor shape pointing in to the jaw spiral indicates a tohunga matakite, a seer. An anchor with a square end indicates a knowledge of medicine. An anchor shape pointing to the outside is the boundary of Kō Huiarau; together with the carver's design this is the mark of a master carver. A carver to the taiohou will have the huruhuru tikitiki design, which is a boat shape with each end curling over. A gardener has a similar pattern in a vertical position with an extra curl repeating the top one in the centre. The same sort of pattern shown horizontally with only one end curled placed and repeated in uma and taiohou (in front of the ear) is the sign of a person who commands the war canoes. The patterns in this area are also referred to as pūtaka or pūtaka (origin).

Wairua

This area is beneath the lower lip to the outer edge of the mouth rays. It is the central place between the mouth rays. Here is the mana of the individual, his personal identification and whether an equivalent rank has been granted.

The chin patterns (kauwae, pūkauwae) include the downward anchor which indicates that the individual has charge of a tribal area. A bell shape with two downward spirals shows the rank descends to the next generation. A double upward spiral is a sign of supreme tapu. A tohunga mākutu will have two spirals with inside pendants hanging from the lip with two lines and two upward-curving spirals beneath. A village chief would have two lines from the lip ending in two inward spirals. The mouth rays (rerepehi, pāwaha) normally curve in under the chin to form two large spirals in the lower-ranked nōaia and kaitahutahu ariki and arikinui. Tribal styles of tattoo may have a bearing on the size and prominence of these spirals. There are a number of descriptive words for patterns on the chin and these may be used in such a way as to give phonetically the name of the individual.

Taitoto

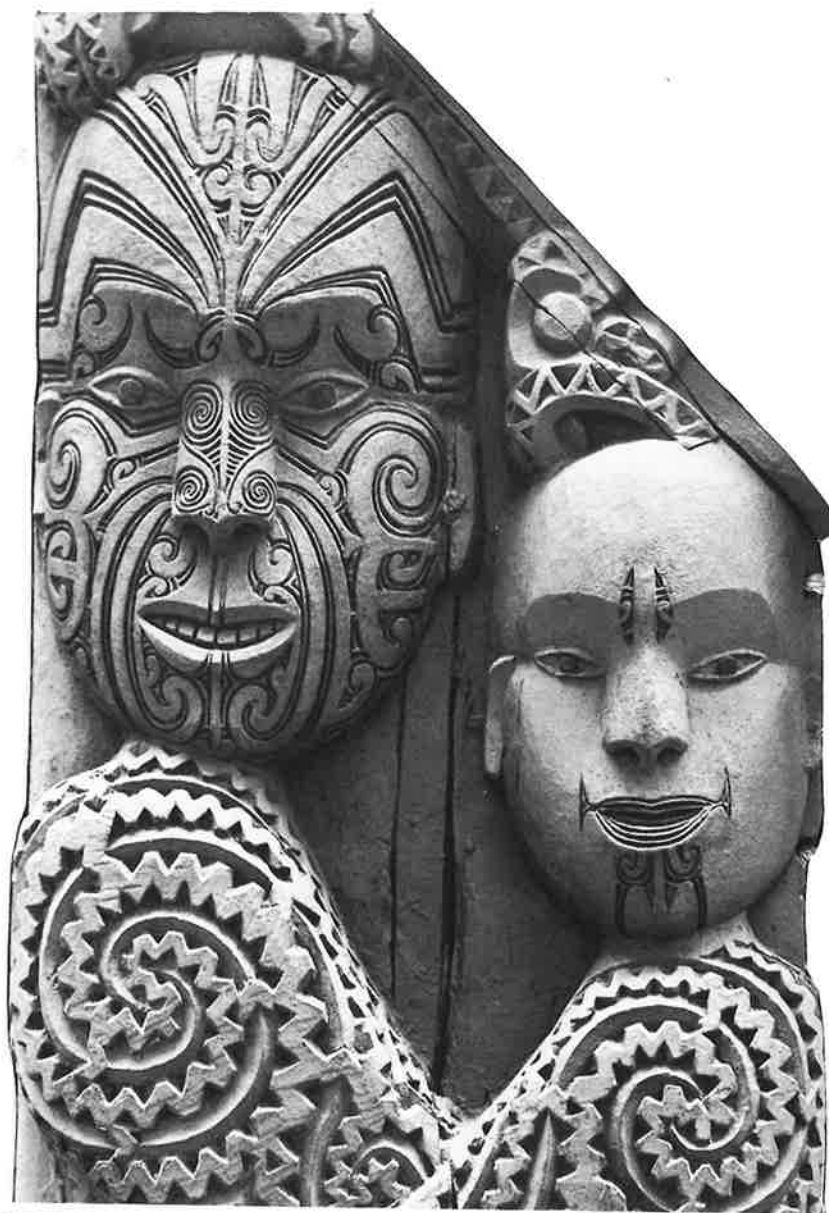
This section is in the angle of the jaw bounded by the taiohou and raurau. The birthright of the individual is placed here.

This area has the lower jaw spiral (riparipa). If this is a three-line spiral starting close to the chin on the jaw line then with three vertical lines closer to the ear, the wearer is a tianu (successor) to a taiohou. An heir will have a lower jaw spiral, eyebrow rays and mouth rays. A person of nōaia rank who was recognised but was not the eldest or not descended from an elder line would have the nose tattooed as well as a tribal mark.

The lower spiral may be of three, two or one line and rise closer to the ear or by the ear as with kaitahutahu ariki and arikinui. The commencement of one element of three-line spirals is on the cheek as a dagger shape (wero). By adding a continuation this can become a fourth mouth ray used to indicate a rise in rank. The bottom portion of the fourth ray usually has a returning koru. If this has another inside it, then the person has been made a tribal chief before turning 25 years of age.



Poutokomanawa figure from Rangitihī house carved for Te Wāta Taranui, ariki of Te Arawa, about 1860. The ancestor depicted belongs to the Ngāti Porou tribe of the East Coast. His forehead titi design proclaims him to have been the protector of the land and giver of life as do all such ariki designs. The father's side in Te Arawa is the right side of the face, the mother's the left. He was entitled to the address 'E Kō' and was descended from taiohou line. His line had no issue so the second line succeeded him. *Auckland War Memorial Museum (5152)*



Male and female ancestors of Te Pokiha Taranui (Major Fox) carved on the amo of a pātaka built for Te Pokiha when he succeeded his brother Te Wāta Taranui as ariki of Te Arawa in 1868. It depicts a male ancestor of taiopuru descent entitled also to the address 'E Kō' (note the downward koru between the eyes). The koru instead of lower spirals indicate that he was a kōhere, regional paramount chief. The father was from Tūhoe, the mother from Arawa. *Auckland War Memorial Museum* (157)



Anehana of Ngāti Whatua. Anehana was given the rank of nōaia of the second lineage. This is shown by the joining of the fourth mouth ray and by the spirals on the top lip. The connection between the upper cheek spiral and the nose is only one line instead of three, indicating that his rank was not by birth. Anehana was his baptismal name. His relatives now live in Hawkes Bay. Painted by Lindauer after 1874. *Auckland City Art Gallery*



A figure from a pou tahu or pou tuarongo of Rangitihi depicting an ancestor whose titi design indicates that he was on the direct line of descent, in this instance from the Mataatua line of Awanuiarangi. On his father's side (right) he has two-line spirals and was therefore of the second line while his mother was first line. The nose spirals show descent from four taiopuru lines. *Auckland War Memorial Museum* (5152)



Abraham Taupo, chief of Te Ātiawa of Port Nicholson and the Manawatu coast, painted by G.F. Angas in 1844. He was placed in charge of a tribal area as a kōhere. His father's rank was lower than his mother's and he was illegitimate but granted the right to command nōaia. *South Australian Museum, Adelaide, Rex Nan Kivell Collection*



Hongi Hika of Ngāpuhi carved this bust in 1814 to illustrate his own tattoo. The titi design has double-ended koru indicating that when Hongi was cloaked he was given authority for north, south, east and west. His rank was nōaia. *Auckland War Memorial Museum, loan from Otago Museum, Dunedin*



A poutokomanawa figure now in Vienna. The titi design gives his authority as a tohunga. This is confirmed by the open spiral (ngūnga) on the nose. His expertise was in weapons and plant and animal reserves. His nose identification of two and three lines gives his 'tribe' as the church. The one-line upper cheek spiral is that of a person of the third line. He was raised to nōaia rank. *Museum für Volkekunde, Vienna (42,613), Reischek Collection*



Te Awhi Pātaka from Maketu in the Bay of Plenty. The central figure is Niania, who has authority over the east and west as is shown by the horizontal opposed anchor designs on the forehead. *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa*



Above left: Doorway of a whata or pātaka which belonged to Tamati Wāka Nene and which was drawn by Angas in 1844. Wāka Nene was the younger brother of Patuone who was given his own tribe. According to the nose signature given on the figure the father was from Ngāpuhi while the mother was from Ngāti Kahungunu. The outer mouth rays have been joined up and there are two lines connecting the cheek spirals and the nose rather than three; both are signs of being raised in rank. The individual has been made a kōhere, with the right to speak. He carries a gun as commander of the army. The carving has been done by one of the East Coast carvers who worked for the taiopuru and can only have been an acknowledgement of Nene's new status. The carving is now in the Auckland War Memorial Museum.

Above right: A tekoteko in Ngāti Porou style depicting Te Rangiataea, an ancestor of ariki status on both sides who has been raised in rank and given his own line which descends to his son. He was named Te Rangituatea in the Dawson sale catalogue of 1851. The carving is a pledge from the tribe. *British Museum, London (1904 – 244), from Higgins, Turvey Abbey*



Tekoteko in Rongowhakaata style from a house named after an ancestor who was a tohunga of the old religion, the Koroiti. He has been raised in rank by the tribe to arikinui but the rank does not descend to his son. *British Museum, London (1904 – 246), from Higgins, Turvey Abbey*

Figure from Mana Island, Wellington. This is probably from Kaitangata, the house of Te Rangihaeata, nephew of Te Rauparaha of Ngāti Toa. The spirals do not arise at the nose but from the mouth rays, indicating a kaitahutahu arikinui, an appointed non-hereditary rank. The hand on the penis is a guarantee to protect the birthright of the taiopuru. The moko is similar to that of Te Rauparaha himself. *G.F. Angas*

A tekoteko from a house which stood in the central North Island. The ancestor was the eldest son of an ariki line but his nose signature cannot be read to identify the tribe. *Museum für Volkekunde, Frankfurt, Germany (NS 102 78)*



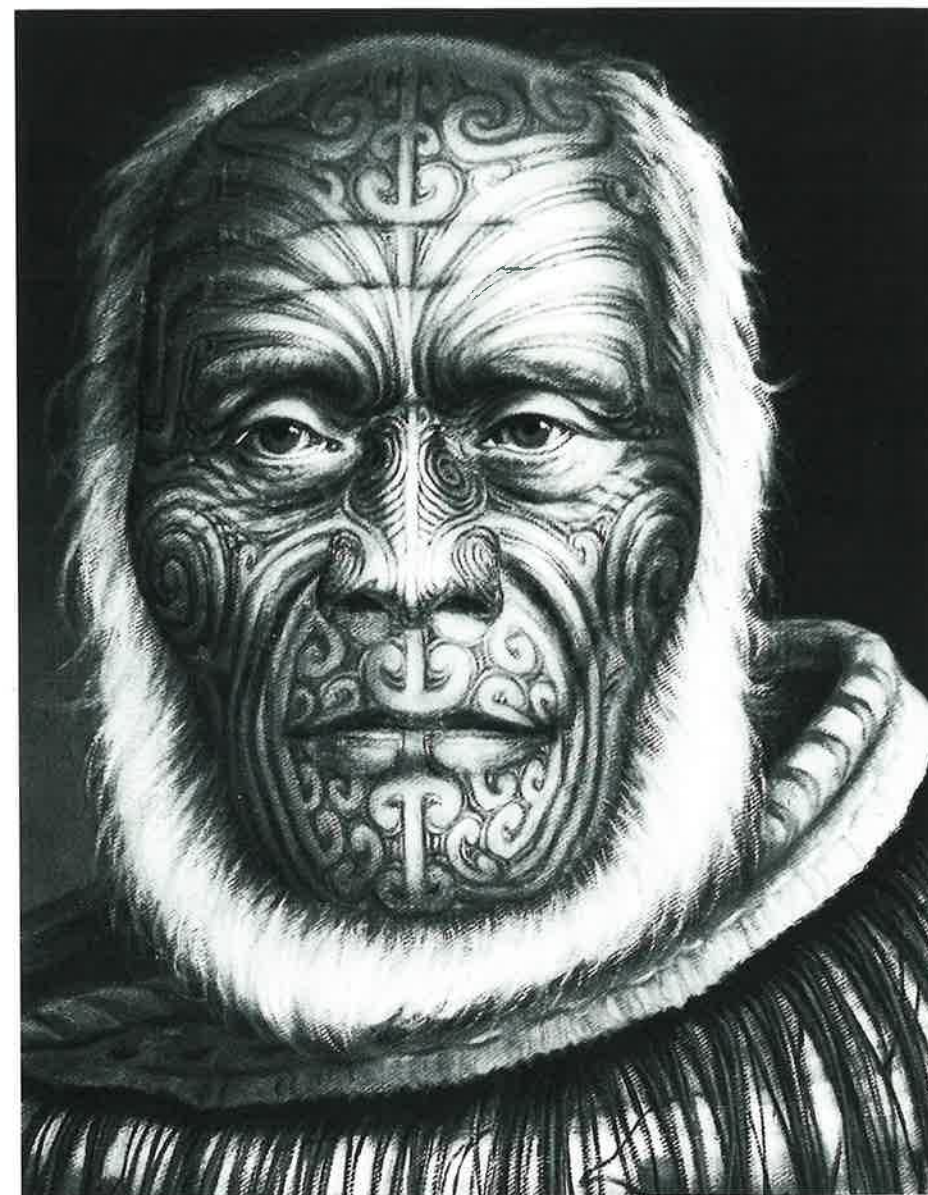
Above: The tekoteko of Kawiti's house, erected on Ruapekapeka pā in 1845. The forehead design is that of a person accorded the rank of ahupiri who was under the protection of the taiopuru. The notching on the forehead, the nose and chin, of three and four, gives the tribe as Ngāpuhi. The tiwhana rays and the lips repeat the tribal attribution. The rank is hereditary. *Auckland War Memorial Museum, Auckland (444). Presented by Dr Lee*

Left: A tekoteko which combines features from the East Coast and Arawa in the Mataatua manner. The ancestor descended from the second line (beginning of spirals) but was only of nōaia rank, though he commanded a tribe (nose tattoo), and had no voice. *British Museum (94.7-16.6), from Lady Sudeley*



Above left: A whakapakoko rākau, an image made to be placed at the entrance of a burial cave to show who is buried there and as a sign of tapu. The figure is adorned with hair from the dead person. The image represents Mataatua, younger brother of Te Herehere of Ngā Herehere of Whakaki, Wairoa. He is buried in the South Island. Note the halfway tattoo on the lips and the lines of the third lineage, with three vertical lines (tohunga of the Koroiti). The third mouth ray contains groups of three and four notches, indicating godly descent and a knowledge of the spiritual world. *Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow (E 341). Presented by J.C. Buchanan*

Above right: A tekoteko probably made in the Waikato. The ancestor must have been a man of exceptional ability. He was a slave who was raised to the rank of kaitahutahu ariki for his lifetime. The ending of the rays on the chin plus lack of chin design and the tiwhana rays are the signs, while the koru on the cheek indicates that he was protected by the taiopuru. *British Museum, London (1921.10.148)*



Ihaka Whānga of Ngāti Kahungunu as painted by Lindauer. He was a descendant of the first line on both sides. His rank is also shown by the tiwhana rays of three, four, four and four lines. *Auckland City Art Gallery*



Poutokomanawa deposited in the Peale Museum, Philadelphia before 1826 by Thomas Jefferson. The ancestor was recognised by his father even though his mother was not of rank and he was a bastard (chevrons on lip, no upper spiral on his mother's side); the fourth mouth ray had been joined and he has been raised to kōhere, a rank which descends to his son. His father was of Pourangahua, his mother of Ngāti Kahungunu. *Peabody Museum, Harvard (53494)*

Tapua Te Whānoa, a noted chief and tohunga of Ngāti Whakaue, Rotorua. He was of ahupiri rank by right of birth and a commander of the tribal army. The tiwhana rays are in fours as befits a man with taiopuru rights. The mask was cast from life in 1850 for Sir George Grey. *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa*



Pātaka doorway from Whakatāne now in Florence. It depicts an ancestor from Tūhoe who by birth belonged to the third line but was raised to the second line (note the two-line tiwhana), perhaps because the second line had no issue. The clear spaces under the lip indicate he was an adviser to the taiopuru. The diamond between the brows is a sign that he was a messenger also for the taiopuru. *Musei Nazionale di Antropologia ed Ednologia, Florence (5649)*

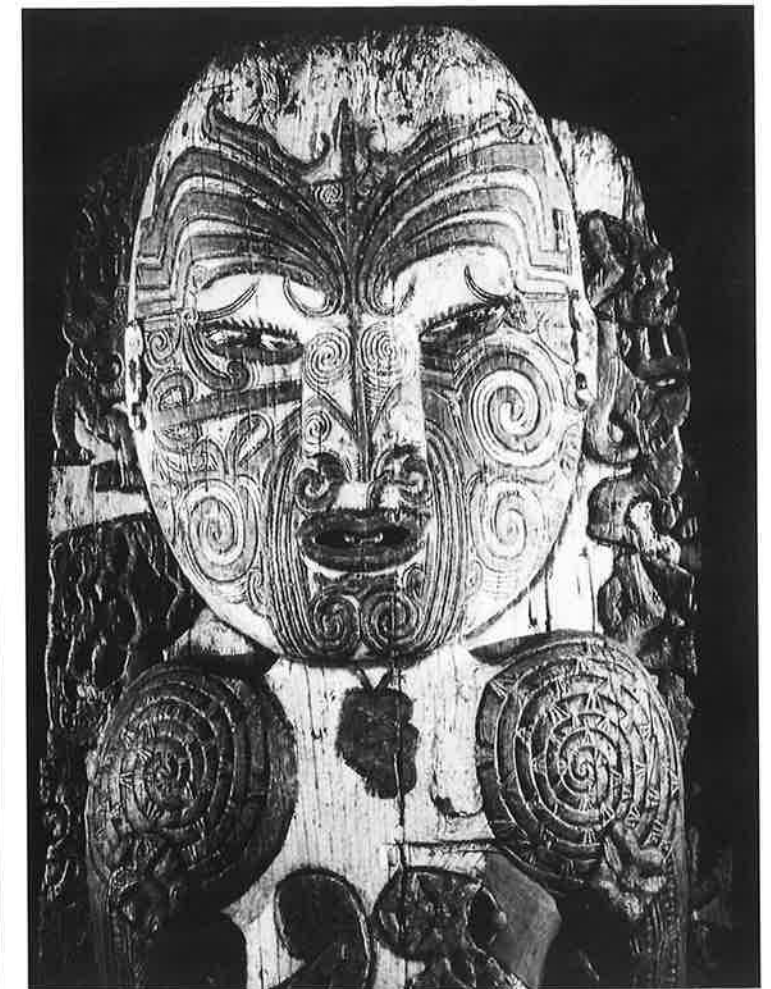
Poutokomanawa depicting an ancestor of Ngāti Awa whose father was a tohunga whakairo, a carver of ariki rank (note the sign for a carver at the end of the topmost tiwhana) who was himself a tohunga (ngūnga spiral) whakairo (sign in pūtaranga). The nose identification is Ngāti Awa (three). The mother's side was a lesser-rank carver (third line raised to second). *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (ME 5250)*



Above: Poutokomanawa carved in Wanganui style. The tiwhana on the father's side have been replaced with a koru design indicating that the person's father was raised in rank then, because of some action, demoted again. The ancestor undertakes to protect the birthright of the taiopuru (hand to penis). *Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh (1930 – 580)*



Left: Kuwaha (doorway) of a pataka (storehouse) from Maketu now in Manchester. The figure has the open spiral (ngūnga) of a tohunga on the nose. The upper cheek spirals are made of two lines (third line) but he was raised to the second line. He had no voice — there is no spiral between the eyes. *Manchester University Museum*



Above: One of the gateways of Pukeroa pā at Rotorua. This gateway is traditionally known as Tiki, however the person depicted had a mother who belonged to a good family of which she was the eldest daughter. His father was an ariki but this son was not legitimate (see the anchor design on his left). The individual has, however, been recognised by the tribe and given the rank shown by his moko as a kōhere. His father was of Tūwharetoa. The most likely person to fit these items is Tūtānekai, son of Rangiuru and Tūwharetoa, who was blessed by Rangiuru's husband Whakaue. *Auckland War Memorial Museum (160)*



Poutokomanawa depicting Iwirākau of Ngāti Porou. His father was of Te Āitanga a Mahaki whose mother (ngūnga spiral as taratara a Kae) was a descendant of the taiopuru, the first line through the Pourangahua line. His father was a carver for the taiopuru (see designs by the ear). He was a tohunga whakairo but his position as an ahupiri takes precedent. As a tohunga he had the buttock and thigh moko. *Auckland War Memorial Museum (163)*



A figure from above a pātaka door who has a ngūnga spiral on the nose but who was an illegitimate son of a kōhere (koru on left cheek) and who was himself a tohunga maara, a garden expert (note chin design and five fingers and thumb on hands.) *Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow (presented 1864)*



Parata, head from a canoe prow. It was given to A. Reischek by Patara Te Tuhi of Ngāti Mahuta. It represents a man of the third line who has been raised in rank and given the right to command nōaia even though his rank was technically inferior to theirs (open spiral with two lines on the cheek). *Museum für Volkekunde, Vienna (42,615), Reischek Collection*



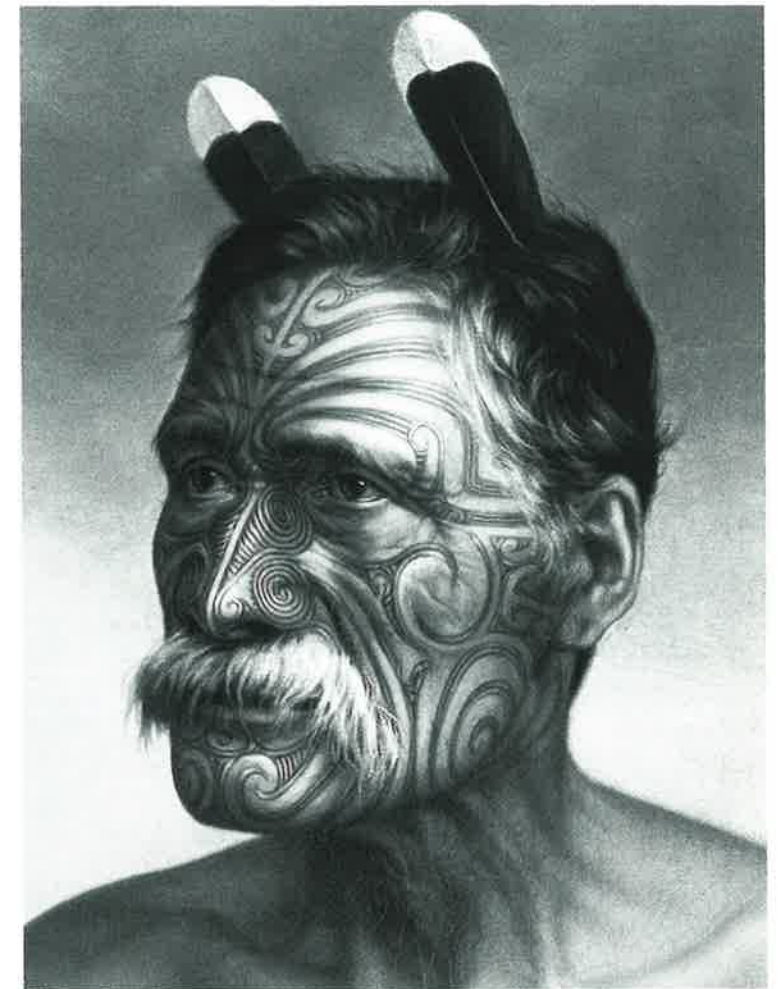
Poutokomanawa depicting Pourangahua carved by Te Āitanga a Mahaki about 1850. The first line had no issue so the second line became the first, which is shown by the spiral ending and beginning again on the cheek, by the tiwhana stopping and starting again. He was also a tohunga tārai wāka, a canoe builder. *Auckland War Memorial Museum*



Pourangahua as carved by Ngāti Kahungunu with the cheek spiral made as one to command nōaia. This is a different carver's interpretation from that shown above left. *Auckland War Memorial Museum*



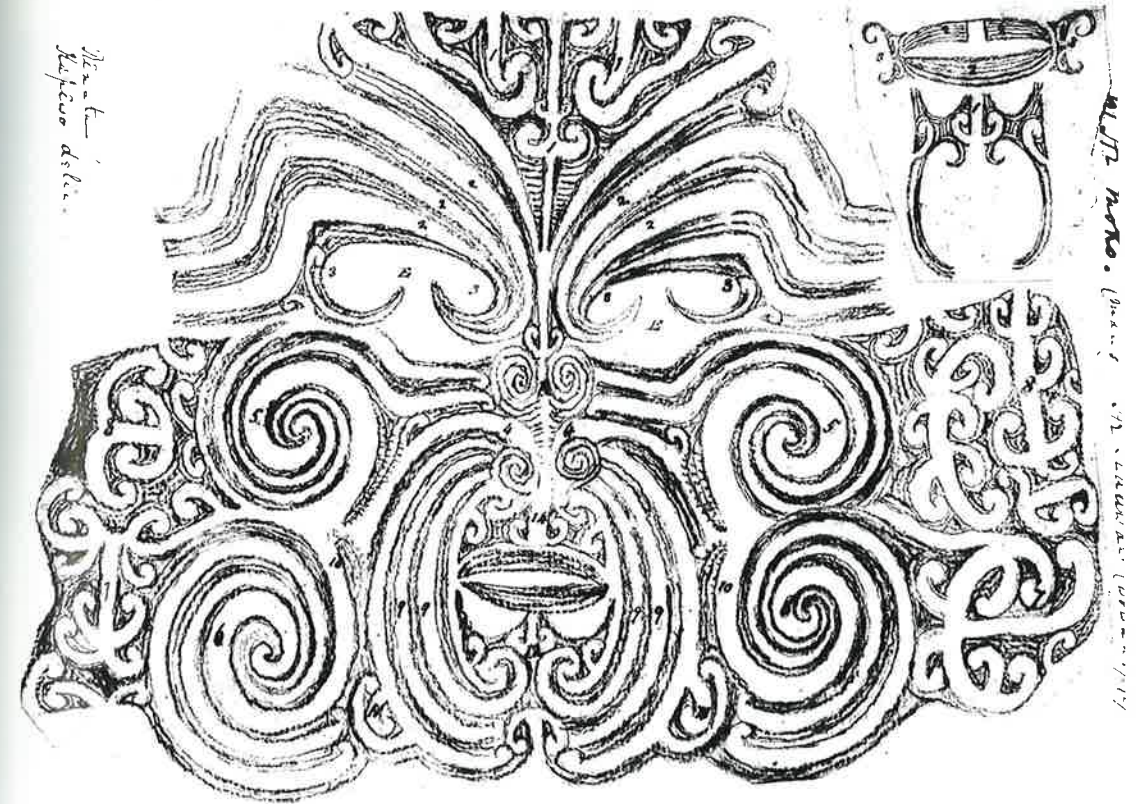
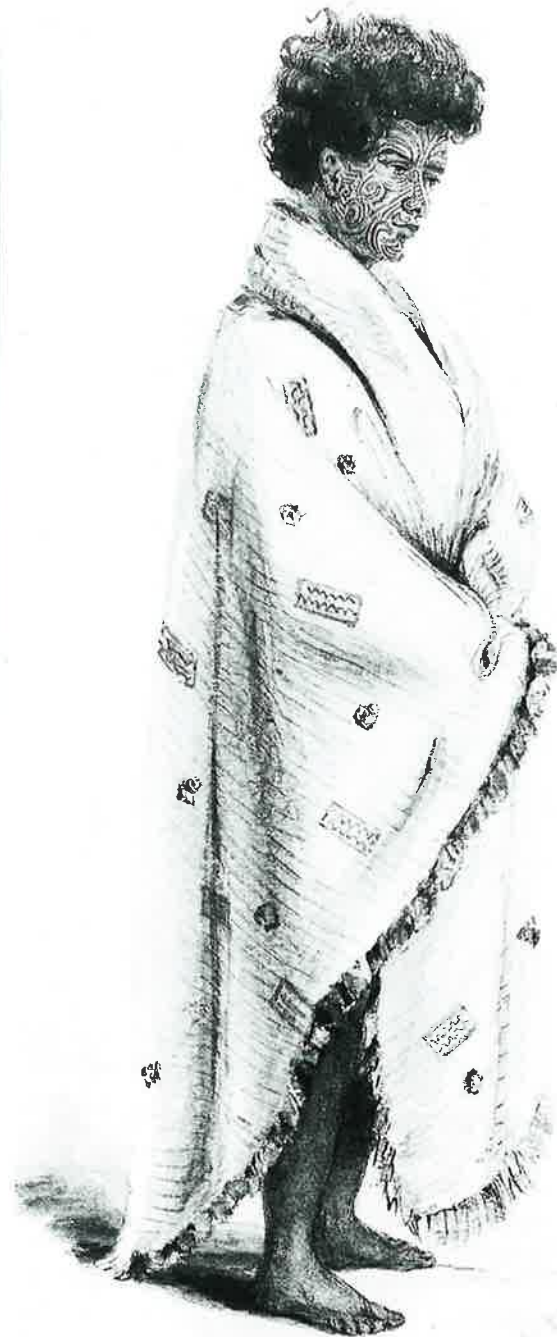
Poutokomanawa carved in Wanganui style depicting an ancestor whose father belonged to the third line but whose mother was raised to the third line (spiral on father's side, open spiral on mother's, fourth mouth ray joined up). Tribal identification is Ngāti Rangi. The ancestor was a tohunga but of what is not clear. *Leeds Museum (F.14.1973)*



Kewene Te Haho of Ngāti Naho, Ngāti Whawhakia and Ngāti Haua of Rangiriri, Waikato and inland Taranaki, as painted by Lindauer. He was a kaitahutahu ariki appointed by the taiopuru, a non-hereditary rank. He could command nōaia and was a warrior who served the taiopuru (inwards anchor by the ear). *Auckland City Art Gallery*



Above: Paieka of Ngāti Porou as depicted for a meeting house built about 1860 in Tolaga Bay. Paieka is depicted as a chief descended from the gods but whose tribe started with him as shown by the open spiral on the cheek. His tiki-tiki topknot has fifteen lines so he belongs to the original tangata whenua lines from Māui. *The American Museum of Natural History, New York, Robley Collection*



Above: Model tattoo drawn by Renata Kawepō for W.C. Cotton in New South Wales, 1843. Numbers refer to names of designs: 1. titi, 2. tiwhana, 3. rewa, 4. pōniana, 5. paipai, 6. ripa-ripa, 7. pūtaka, 8. koroaha, 9. pāwaha, 10. wero, 11. pūkorokoro, 12. pākauwau, 13. ngutu, 14. hape. Female: 1. kauwae, 2. ngutu, 3. waikai, 4. hotiki (between eyes). The pūtaka (7) and koroaha (8) on the father's side are nōaia descent, a collector of koha, authority for Ngāpuhi and the putaka indicating the person was cloaked by Kō Huiarau. *State Library of New South Wales, Cotton Journal*

Left: Aitu of Queen Charlotte Sound. Aitu was a young man whose father was an English sea captain and whose mother was Hikihiki Kō Herehere, a woman of high rank from Ngā Herehere. He was placed as an arikinui for the Ngāi Tahu of the Sounds rather than for Te Ātiawa. He has the tattoo of an arikinui on his mother's side. Rank was the factor which determined how much moko a person had. Unless a person was raised in rank a partial moko could be complete in itself. Drawn by G.F. Angas, 1844. *South Australian Museum, Rex Nan Kivell Collection*



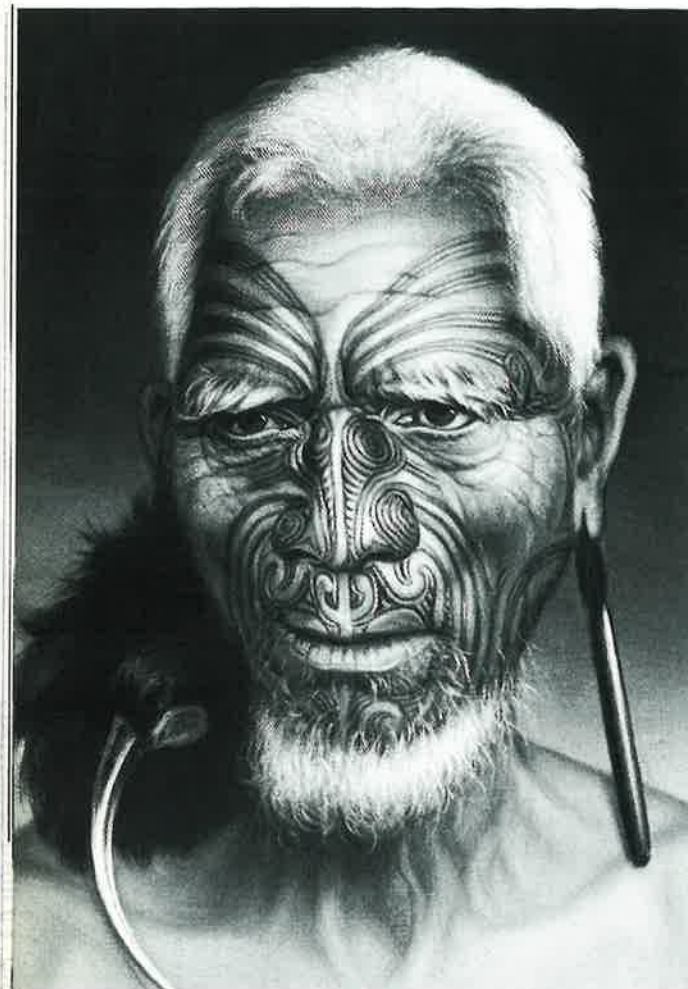
Above: Palisade post tops from the King Country collected by A. Reischeck. Both represent tohunga. The one on the right was a tohunga whakairo of the second line while the other was a tohunga of the third line. *Museum für Volkekunde, Vienna (42,616, 42,617), Reischeck Collection*

Taraia Nga Kuti Te Tumuhia of Ngāti Tamatera. The deeply chiselled nature of the moko shows up clearly in this photograph. Taraia was a warrior chief whose desire to position his tribe to their best advantage in trading with Europeans led him to move them from the Waihou River to Kauri Point in the Bay of Plenty, then to attempt to take over the Whitianga area and later part of the Hauraki Gulf near Auckland. Because he absorbed the mana of a chief who built houses on the Kauri Point land, thus staking a land claim, Taraia was called the 'last of the cannibals'. He was paramount in his own tribe who are one of the sections of the Ngāti Marutuahū tribes of Hauraki. *Auckland War Memorial Museum*

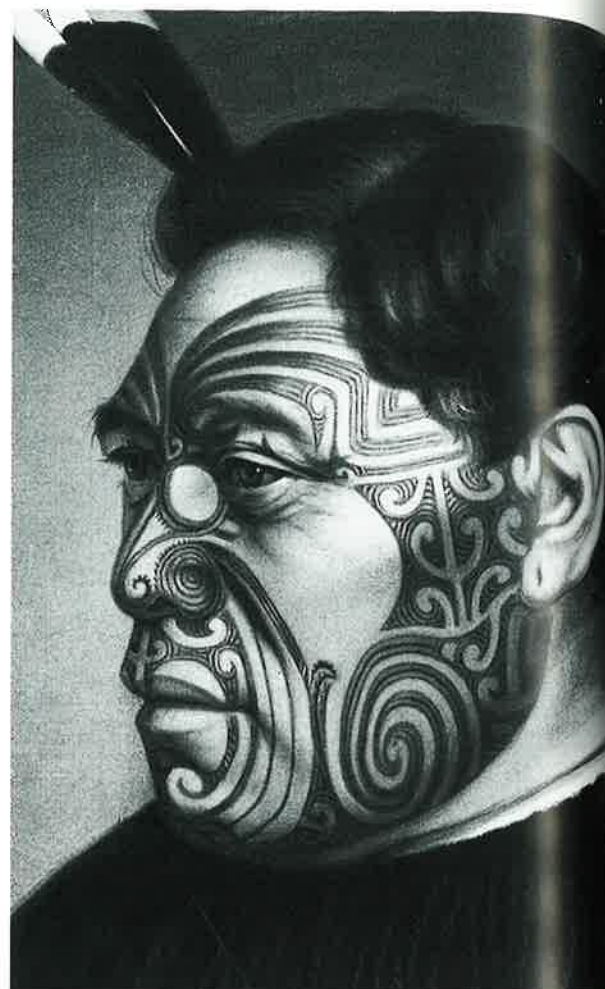


Above: Wī Te Manewha of Ngāti Raukawa as painted by Lindauer. He was a kaitahutahu arikinui appointed by the tribe (see the rewha design at the corner of the eye) who has the right to speak as an orator (spiral on top of nose). The koru anchors on the bottom lip establish his authority over the southern tribal area. *Auckland City Art Gallery*

Left: Small tekoteko representing an ancestor of the second line from the East Coast. The tribal identification on the nose seems to be Ngāti Porou. On the lower lip is the koru of authority over a hapū. *Auckland War Memorial Museum (10680), E.E. Vaile Collection*



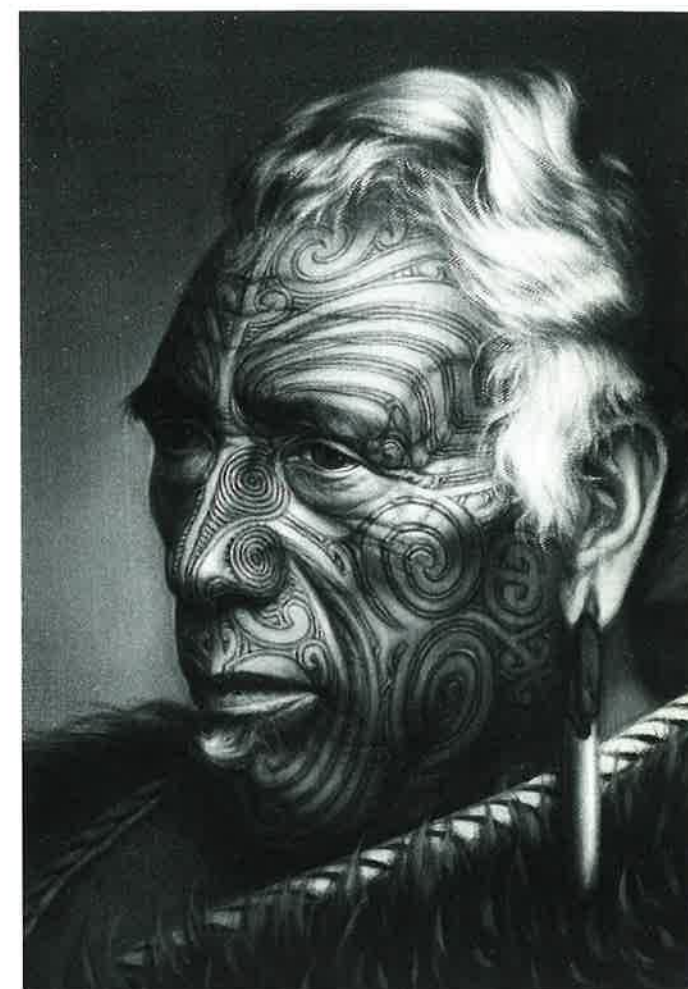
Tukukino of Ngāti Whanaunga painted by Lindauer. Tukukino was raised in rank from kaitahutahu ariki, a non-hereditary rank, to that of nōaia. *Auckland City Art Gallery*



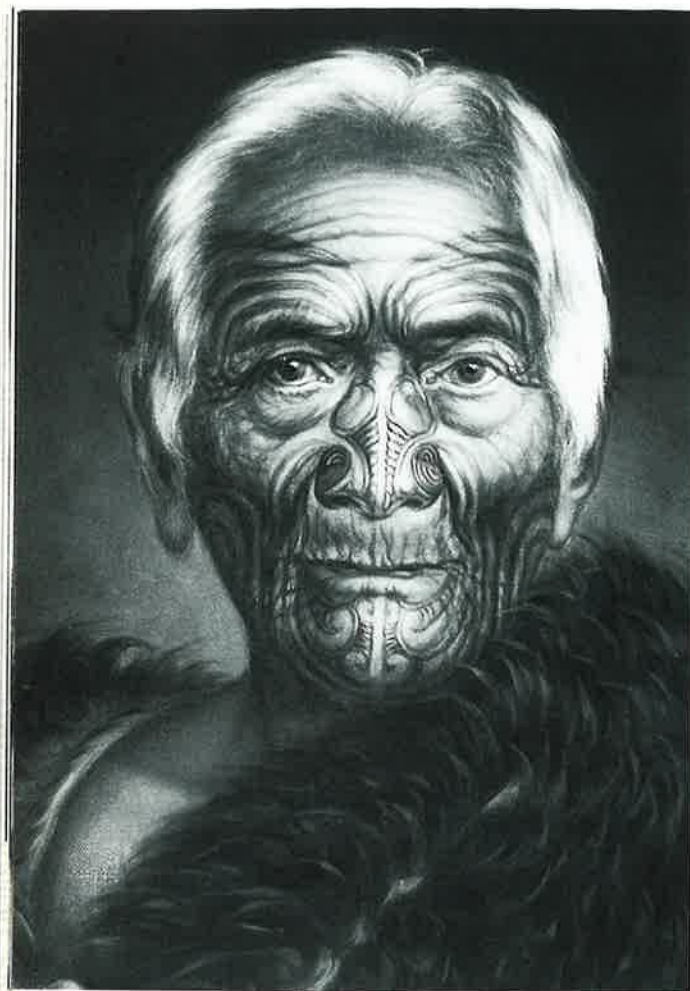
Tamati Wāka Te Puhi of Ngāti Maru, chief of Te Uringahu hapū. Lindauer painting after 1876. He was a survivor of the attack on Te Totara Pā at Thames by Hongi Hika of Ngāpuhi. He was a nōaia confirmed by the ariki. He was a tohunga of canoe fighting, the pattern by the ear giving his authority on land and sea, shown by the upper and lower koru anchor shapes by the ear show that his expertise was in genealogies of the upper and lower jaw, that is, genealogies of gods and men. The two-line upper cheek spiral gives his rank as equal to a nōaia. *Auckland City Art Gallery*



Wharekauri Tahuna of Tūhoe. Goldie painting done in 1914. He was a noted tohunga from Galatea. His nose has a ngūnga spiral that is empty with three lines across it; he was an expert storyteller. His rank has been raised to kaitahutahu ariki by the ahupiri. The upper and lower koru anchor shapes by the ear show that his expertise was in genealogies of the upper and lower jaw, that is, genealogies of gods and men. The two-line upper cheek spiral gives his rank as equal to a nōaia. *Auckland War Memorial Museum*



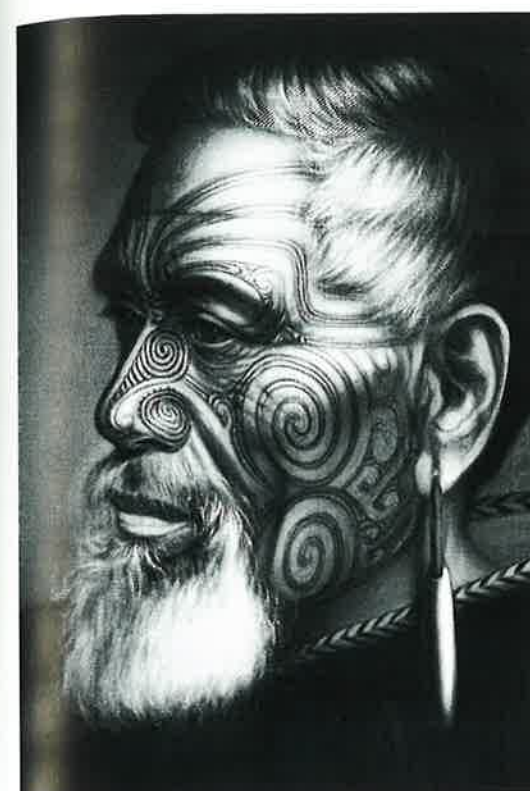
Rātene of Ngāiterangi. Lindauer painting after 1874. He had the rank of nōaia granted by the taioapu. Within the protected borders of Kō Huiarau he commanded the warriors of Ngāiterangi. The outer mouth ray has been joined up showing a rise in rank. He has the kōhere design on his forehead denoting authority to command. *Auckland City Art Gallery*



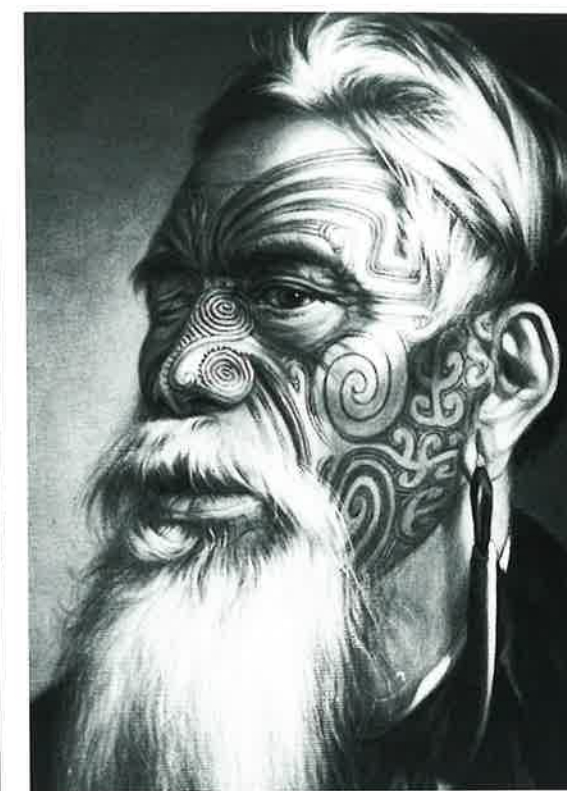
Pera Tutoko of Te Āitanga a Mahaki, an expert as shown by the empty basket of knowledge spiral made with a single line on his upper nose, a teacher of weapons which is the symbol in the centre of his lower chin. He was a warrior who was given the lifetime rank of kaitahutahu ariki. He was painted by Lindauer before 1874. *Auckland City Art Gallery*



'Panni' of Queen Charlotte Sound, of Ngāi Tahu—Te Ātiawa of Waikawa. He was, according to his forehead design, a kōhere, a paramount chief, protector of the land and people. His father was of the second line from the taiopuru while his mother was of the third line. He had been raised to his father's level as a master carver — note the design by the ear. Unknown artist before 1843. *Peabody Museum, Salem*



Retimana Te Mānia of Te Ākitai and Ngāti Mahuta, lived at Ihumatao, Māngere. His tribe had honoured him as a warrior (nose spiral) by making him kaitahutahu ariki. His knowledge of medicines is shown by the design near his ear. Lindauer painting. *Auckland City Art Gallery*



Renata Kawepō of Ngāti Kahungunu. Lindauer painting. Renata, or Leonard, was a nōaia by birth of the second line. He had three koru spirals by the ear; he was a tohunga with authority in the area under the Koroiti religion. The line to the lower jaw spiral had an upper and lower koru, symbolising that he was a tohunga of the upper and lower ways. The two-line spiral on the cheek is because he gave himself to the Ngāpuhi at Nukutaurua to save his people. Ngāpuhi thought to enslave him then discovered that his mother was the daughter of Patuone, their own arikinui. To save enslaving themselves they quickly put his moko on but acknowledged their wrong by the single spiral. *Auckland City Art Gallery*



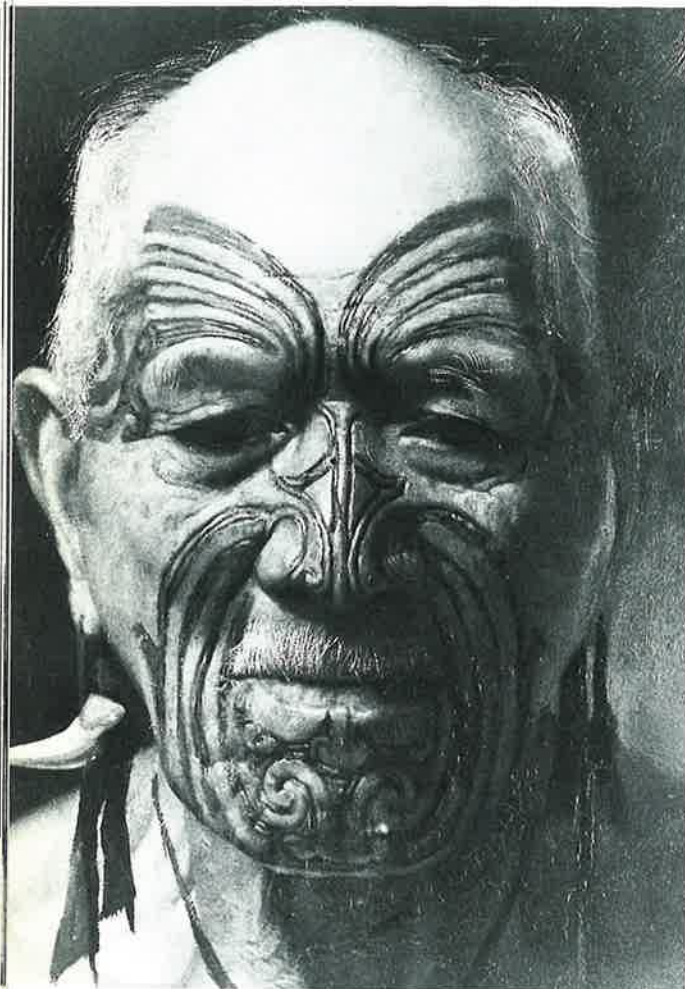
Above: Kahura of Queen Charlotte Sound. Drawn by Webber, 1779. The tattoo style with square block pākati is in the Cook Strait–Wanganui manner. The lines from the lower spiral to the ear indicate that he was a slave who had been freed, while the nose, forehead and mouth rays indicate that he was placed in another area as a surety for a contract. Kahura was probably responsible for the killing of the *Adventure's* boat crew on Cook's second voyage and the following epidemic which resulted from eating men with 'dysenteric fever' known as the Te Arikī plague. *State Library of New South Wales, Dixon Library*



Left: Whakapakoko of Ngārongo-tipu of Tūhoe. Burial image to be placed in the cave. Ngārongo-tipu was a tohunga of the Koroiti religion, shown by the three groups of three lines across the lips which also set him aside as tapu. The lines on the lip are tribal from Tūhoe and Ngāti Kahungunu. His rank was nōaia. The open mouth and Ngārongo-tipu's hair are also tapu signs. *Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum*

Right: Image of Pūtere Honitapu of Ngā Herehere, a nōaia of taiopuru lineage with protected knowledge, as is shown by the designs above and below the lip. The figure was carved by Ngātoto the elder. *Musée des Arts Africaines et Océaniques, Paris*

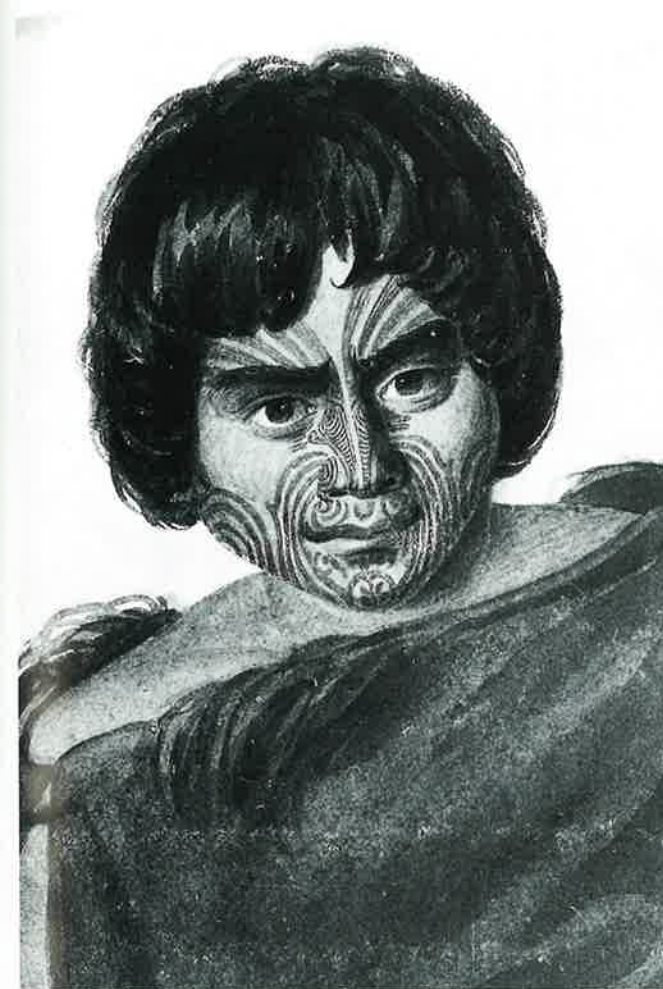




Patara Te Tuhi of Ngāti Mahuta. Goldie painting. The spiral on his nose is that of a tohunga māra, a gardening expert. Patara was raised in rank to that of nōaia. He was not given a tribe so there are no bars in the nose designs which would give tribal identification. *Auckland War Memorial Museum*



Hori Pōkai of Ngāti Maru. Goldie painting. Pōkai was a slave who was raised in rank and made a village chief (nose design). The mouth ray goes under the lower jaw spiral and he has a clubbed design on his chin showing he was a slave. The one-line jaw spiral shows he won mana as a warrior. *Auckland War Memorial Museum*



Rangī, the 'tattooer', drawn by Augustus Earle in the Bay of Islands in 1828. He had not always been a tattooist before his capture by Ngāpuhi. A warrior of good family, originally of the third line but elevated to the second line. As a nōaia he had lower jaw spirals either side while the outer ray has been joined up to show the rise in rank, also indicated by the short lines by the nose. The purpose of the rise in rank is shown by the design on the point of the chin, that of a collector of tithes or koha to the taiopuru. His tribe was probably Ngāti Tūwharetoa, the tribe of his father, while his mother was from Ngāti Kahungunu. His nose signature is that of a tribal chief in charge of a village. *The National Library of Australia, Rex Nan Kivell Collection*



Left: Karetao, jumping jack, Rongowhakaata. The karetao often have identifiable tattoo suggesting that the stories and songs told and sung when the arms of the figure are being moved are the stories of particular ancestors. This one was a chief of Rongowhakaata of Gisborne, a man whose father was of rank but whose mother was not. He was a pōriro or bastard (lines as chevrons across the lip). He has been recognised under the belt of the taiopuru (notching around the lips) and raised to nōaia rank. His father was from Ngāti Kahungunu. *Otago Museum, Dunedin*

Left: Tekoteko in the King Country style of Tauranga Whareherehere of Ngāti Maniapoto and other tribes. He was the younger son of the taiopuru of the time who was made chief of Ngāti Maniapoto. The forehead rays of six and seven are appropriate for a chief of Tūwharetoa while the nose notches give an East Coast tangata whenua identification. The diamond between the brows is a carving design and confirms the identity. *British Museum, London (83.8-4.1). Presented by Captain Drysdale who got it from Paora Taki, chief of Ngāti Hau*



Ngā Porutu of Ngāti Maniapoto. Angas watercolour, detail. Ngā Porutu was a person of taiopuru descent as is shown by the small spirals around his mouth. The forehead rays and short lines by his nose indicate that he belonged to the third line. *South Australian Museum, Adelaide*



Palisade post from Ōpōtiki. It depicts a chief of Te Whakatōhea tribe who was the eldest on both sides. He was of nōaia rank but many details are not visible under the 'museum red' paint. The pupils of the eyes face to look down from its post. He has great dignity. *Auckland War Memorial Museum*



Ngāti Māmoe chief. Drawn by Mikhailov, 1820, Queen Charlotte Sound. The mouth rays give his rank as rangatira of a village. *State Russian Museum, Moscow (R29 173)*



Tekoteko, Ngāti Tarawhai, Arawa. The short lines in the tiwhana rays and by the nose indicate that he belonged to the third line to which he had been raised by two steps. He was a tohunga, probably of weapons. *Rautenstracht-Joest Museum, Cologne (23900), purchased 1904*



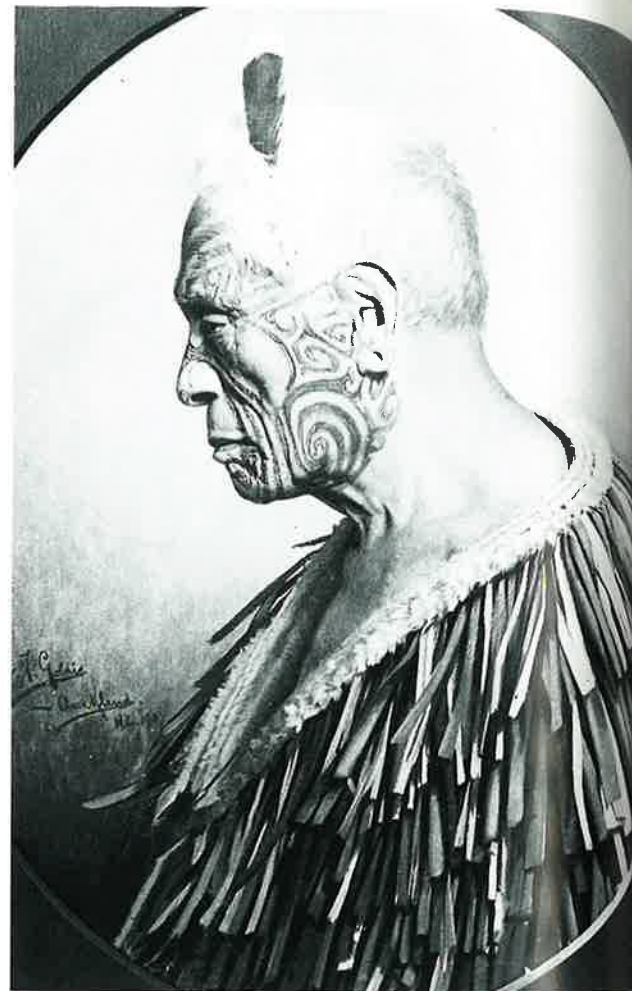
Poutokomanawa, Wanganui. An ancestor who was raised to a nōaia of the third line as indicated by the short lines on the cheek. He was a tohunga of weapons. His moko was complete for his rank and could not be added to without a rise in status. *Auckland War Memorial Museum (44 120)*



Kō Te Poua, Ngāti Haua. Poutokomanawa from Te Wai o Turongo, the house of Wiremu Tamihana Te Tairapipipi which stood on Peria marae near Matamata. Te Poua was of Tūhoe descent and was a nōaia of the second line and was entitled to be addressed as 'Kō'. He was a noble who was also a tohunga, a graduate of the whare wānanga as shown by his buttock tattoo. He protected the birthright of the taiopuru. *Auckland War Memorial Museum (23 955), Ex W. Blomfield*



Moana and Rawiti of Ngāti Whatua. Watercolour by Angas 1844. Moana and Rawiti are the son and grandson of Apihai Te Kawau of Te Taoū hapū of Ngāti Whatua at Ōrākei, Auckland. The tiwhana rays show that the grandson is of higher rank than the son; the latter is an awaroa (warrior) whereas the grandson, because of his mother's rank, is of higher lineage. *South Australian Museum, Adelaide*



Kamariera Te Hau Takiri Wharepapa of Ngā Tītoki, Ngāti Horahia, Ngāpuhi. Gabriel Te Hau Takiri lived in a plank-built house so was given the name Wharepapa (House of Planks). He was a nōaia, a tohunga and a warrior. His expertise was medicines, as shown by the downward koru under his ear. He visited England with the party of chiefs led by Harata Pomare in 1863 to complete the Treaty contract. He brought back an English wife. *Auckland City Art Gallery*



This carving is a contract to unite the five taiopuru lines by blood (tattooed penis). The figure could date to the early nineteenth century. The moko on both sides depicts the descent of the earthly gods from the heavenly gods. On the chin the clubbed ends of the riparipa rays are curled up and down, representing the union of above and below. The moko kuri pattern on the chest signifies the mixing of blood. The tribal identification on the nose is Pourangahua, so it is Pourangahua's, or rather Ngā Herehere's, contract to unite the lines. The taiopuru lines are shown by the moko on the face and on the two thighs. This information is also carried in a different way in the carving patterns. The traditional date for this figure is six generations from the present. *British Museum, London (1641)*

Body tattoo

Te Marau

This is the buttock region. The buttock or rape pattern was single or double spirals: these indicated a male or female lineage and the number of lines gave the tribe the lineage came from. Nōaia were the wearers of this tattoo until the nineteenth century when it was extended to the leaders of the fighting forces as a reward for service.

In the north the smooth skin technique left the spirals as clear skin. In the south the spirals were grooved. A two-element spiral was a sign of a male line of descent, a single-element spiral that of a female line. The elements could be two lines or more depending on tribal affiliation.

Kitemaimaru

This is the thigh area. The pattern is indicative of tribal descent lines, whether from male or female. The fill-in pattern is for the same reason, in twos or threes.

The design on the thighs (puhoro) was composed of scrolls usually with three loose spiral corners. These indicate tribal descent lines, male or female depending whether the spirals curl left or right respectively. Another form had paired koru either side of clear centre lines. These usually curve down but may be pendant. The numbers of the pairs are again tribal markers. This is the (paeturi) form of puhoro given to the warriors in the nineteenth century. Puhoro tattoo divides down the front and back of the thigh so the leg is in two halves. Depending on the person and his ancestry the thigh may be tattooed on one leg or both legs.

Kokongapere

The small of the back may have a 'niho' pointing down to the buttocks. The pattern in the small of the back (pakituri, takitaki) is also called puhoro. The tattoo is an indication that the person is of high lineage, the heir (Te Aia) to the taio-puru or a person of the second or third lines.

Hinewaimaru

The chest was rarely tattooed. Where there was a dispute between two brothers (twins) with equal claims to a tribal territory, a spiral would be tattooed on the right chest of one and on the left chest of the other to divide and give full rights to each within his territory.

Keiwaitahi

A spiral on the stomach (tū tātua) indicates the wearer has been granted the right to rise in rank to kaitahutahu ariki. These spirals were not always pigmented in modern times.

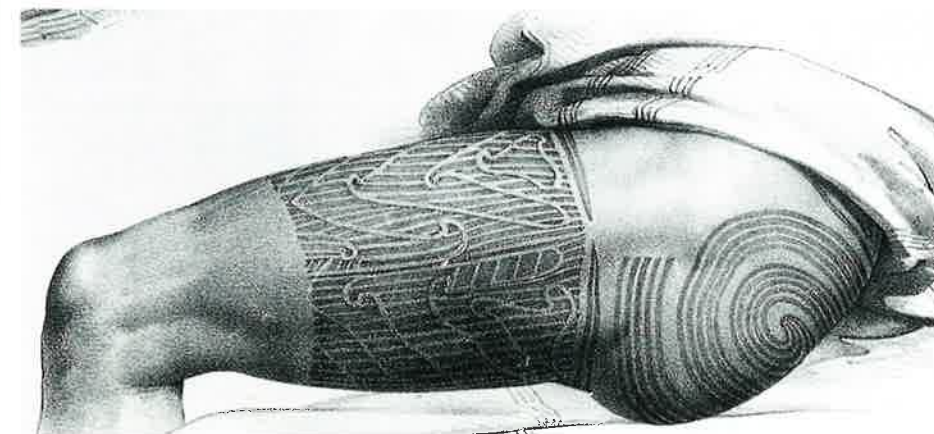
Iwihono

A tattoo on the right arm shows the person has been betrothed in infancy for a political marriage: a joining of tribes.



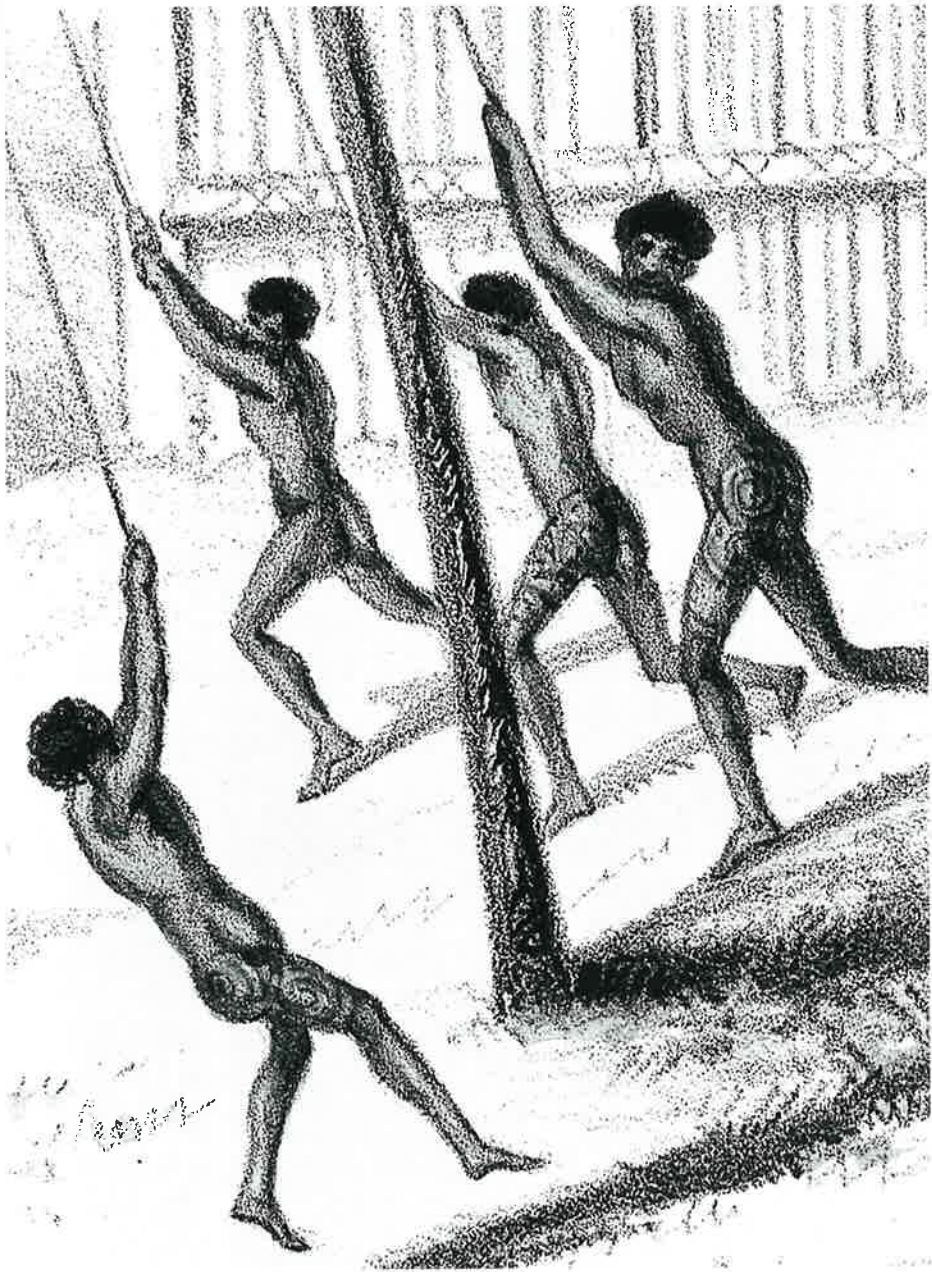
Left: Ranginui of Ngāti Kahu. Drawing by Pottier de L'Horme, 1769. Ranginui is tattooed on the face and one side of his buttocks only. On his calf are small designs, one on the left, two on the right, indicating that he was one of two brothers (twins?) who fought for the chieftainship. The single motif on the left indicates that the younger became the chief. The double spiral shows a male descent line with male tri-lateral scrolls beneath. Facial tattoo was rare in the north and seems to have been an arikinui prerogative. *Archives Nationales, Paris*

Below: Rape of the chief Pako of Te Rarawa, drawn by de Sainson in 1827. The rape is a single spiral, a female line of descent. The 'safety pin' design at the centre of the thigh is a sign of descent from a captured woman of rank, the numbers of scrolls suggesting she was of Ngāti Tūwharetoa. *d'Urville, 1830*

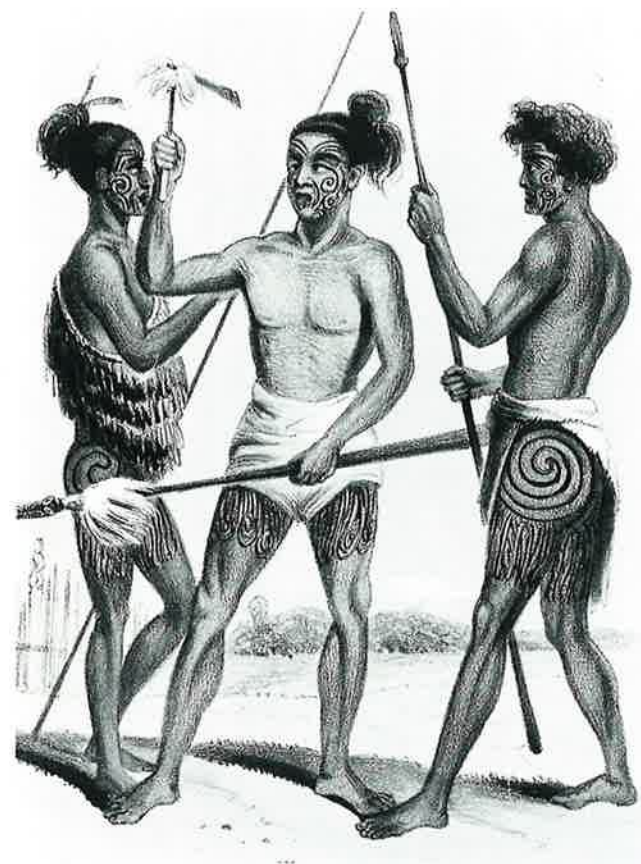




Drawing by Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikaheke of puhoro: 'He tohunga āno nāna tēnei puhoro' — 'This is the tattoo of a tohunga'. The trilateral scrolls have their spirals pointing to the top (male) or down (female) with the lines between giving information on tribal affiliation. Auckland Public Library



Tattooed warriors on a moari swing, Taupo. In the nineteenth century the rape and puhoro were given to warriors outside the north as a reward. Angas, 1847



Above: Another group of warriors drawn by Angas, 1844. Angas, 1847

Right: Drawing after Hamilton, 1896. The puhoro includes tribal identification in the numbers of upward and downward spirals.



Above: Ancestors protecting the pā at Pāpāwai, near Greytown, Wairarapa. This is the pā built in 1907 by Tamahau Mahupuku to revive the art of building palisaded pā while those who knew how to do so were still alive. The tattooed ancestors were turned in as it was felt that their support was needed by their descendants.



Far left: One of the Pāpāwai figures, an ancestor of Ngāti Kahungunu. Such ancestors facing out literally proclaimed who the people in the pā were. At the spiritual level they were also the protectors of their descendants so the tohunga of an attacking force would have to be able to overcome their power before his karakia would have any effect on the living.

Left: A Pāpāwai ancestor of rank who was a tohunga. He does not have a lower jaw spiral therefore was not a warrior. The rape (buttock) spiral is thus that of a tohunga of the upper way as the koru at the top of the spiral indicates.



Left: A tekoteko which depicts an ancestor of nōaia status. His mother was of a higher rank and he has been granted nōaia rank and authority over a hapū. *Hawkes Bay Museum and Art Gallery, Napier*

Centre: A group of ancestral poutokomanawa figures from the Napier area. These belong to the period when writing was being used to supplement the moko in identifying the individuals. Two have names on the chest, two have tribal identification signs and one has only the moko, being traditionally Perohuka, chief of Rongowhakaata, Gisborne. The others are from the local area and are Te Hauwaho, Te Kauru o Te Rangi, Te Humonga and Tikitiki (with axe), all chiefs of ariki status. They were fealty pledges given to the taiopuru by the northern, central and southern tribes of Ngāti Kahungunu. *Hawkes Bay Museum and Art Gallery, Napier*

Right: Tuari Netana of Ngāti Maru tribe, Hauraki Gulf, 1852. He was the second son of the taiopuru with four rays on his forehead and distinctive patterns on his forehead between the eyes, above the upper lip, on the lips and on the chin. He was a nōaia, that is, an aristocrat. The diamond between his brows gave him the right to speak for the taiopuru; his father was Waikato Tairea Whareherehere (see page 14). *Private collection*



Left: A tekoteko depicting a female of rank belonging to the first line who is protected by the Ngāti Porou tribe and the Kō Huiarau (the United Tribes). This information is given by the tattoo between the brows, the upward spirals at the lips and the small downward spirals. The lack of a 'tongue' in the semicircle under the lip suggests she is descended on the female line of ariki on both sides, which is correct for Ngāti Porou. Stylistically the figure could have been carved in Te Āitanga a Mahaki, Rongowhakaata, or Ngāti Kahungunu areas. It may represent Hinematiaro, grandmother of Te Kani a Takirau. *The Rothesay Museum, Bournemouth, England*

Centre: A Lindauer portrait of Hinekura of Te Rēinga, Hawkes Bay. Hinekura was a tapairu, a wahine ariki of the second line of Ngāti Marumaru, Ngā Herehere, Ngāti Kahungunu and many other tribes. She came down by the male line on both her father's and her mother's sides, shown by the 'tongues' in the semicircles. The small spirals at the sides are the sign that she belongs to the second line. *Private collection*

Right: Teia Kutia of Tūhoe, painted by Harry Sangl. The moko was done by Hokotahi, a Tūhoe tattooist who worked until about 1915 using an albatross bone chisel. The moko pattern is that of a lady of rank.



Left: Huriana Hiraka of Tūwharetoa, also painted by Harry Sangl. Her moko is a needle tattoo done with groups of darning needles.



Centre: Amo of Rongomai Aniwaniwa, a house representing an important female ancestress of Ngāti Porou. It was carved by Hone Ngātoto, Iwirākau's descendant (see page 38), about 1880. The amo carved in 'Greek' style depicts Huanga, a female, with her descendant Rakeimataura, a male, underneath. Many of the Ngāti Porou houses are of ancestresses of the hapū (sub-tribes).

Right: A burial image for Hine Korako of Ngā Herehere who died about 1830 and was buried in a cave on the Mahia Peninsula. She was ritually a man so has the tattoo appropriate to her station in life, a nōaia of the second line. She was of taiopuru descent but of the second line of her tribal taiopuru line. She was raised in rank (joined-up fourth ray) when the first line had no issue. The open mouth has metal teeth and the eyes are made from pieces of tin, rare items when this image was put in the cave. Note the signs of godly descent on the knuckles. *Private collection*

The patterns and meaning of female moko

Te Karu

This is the area above the eyes and between the eyes. Two triangles are placed either side of the centre to make a diamond curve. On each side is a small downward koru with lines in the curve; these indicate the line of descent on that side of a māreikura. Other designs placed between the eyes are the patterns appropriate for a guardian of the children of the taiopuru, which is a complicated double reversed pair of spirals with a pair of 'horns' above. An assistant teacher of weaving had two inward-curving lines (kawaretoe). Some women given rank by the ariki taiopuru had the beginning of male tiwhana between the brows.

Kirupa

This is the area beneath the nose and above the top lip.

Patterns (pihere) in the top lip including spirals on the wing of the nostril show the lady was a tapu servant of an ariki. Spirals on the nose and beside it were a sign of protection by the taiopuru: she was untouchable. Spirals on the nose plus upward spirals at the corner of the mouth are a sign of protection by Ngāti Porou.

Some female tohunga (experts) had the sign for protected knowledge under the nose.

Keikoro

These are the lips where the lip lines were placed (ngutu purua).

The top lip may have lines (ngutu poroporo) on it indicating the tribe or lineage. A half-completed lip was a sign of the fourth line. If completed still with a gap it represented the third line.

If there were two lines above the top lip the lady was of the second line. A line over the lip plus semicircles at the corners mean the wearer was a slave who was raised in rank.

The bottom lip was darkened. In the eighteenth century this was almost the only female moko seen though sometimes associated with a small spot on the chin.³⁶

Warunga

The chin is also known as kauwae and this name is often used for the patterns. The basic form is the one that came into prominence in the nineteenth century. It consists of two semicircles or spirals facing out and pendant from the bottom lip. Below this are two points in the centre, an arcade either side and outside points. The pendant semicircles or spirals have a curved 'tongue' inside them if the lady is descended on a male lineage on both mother's and father's side. She

is recognised by her parents and the tribe and her marriage blessed or allowed. A woman of high rank had a tattoo that portrayed that fact. She would have two reversed spirals with long outer legs as the lower elements and koru spirals incorporated in the design. The upper design of inward-curving spirals was appropriate to the first-born of the family who, like Te Rangi Topeora of Ngāti Toa, outranked Te Rangihaeata, the later born son. The tattoo is formed by two or three grooved lines. In the twentieth century the tattoos became standardised, then were made with grouped darning needles as smooth tattoos. As patterns they become negative, with the background darkened. In terms of design they tend to be copied from earlier family examples taken from photographs.

Pakipaki

Some northern women in the eighteenth century had buttock tattoo as well as under-breast tattoo and some on the pit of the stomach.³⁷ In 1772 some had designs on the faces and legs. A single spiral from left to right on the buttock set a girl aside as a puhi or kahurangi, a virgin who could take part in ceremonies forbidden to other women.

Takitaki

A woman who was a tohunga, a wahine tapu, was marked with tattoos above the breasts. The designs were spirals and human forms.

Whakarākau (?) or genital tattoo

This protected the birthright so that a woman so tattooed could have children by her first arranged marriage and these would be recognised as aho ariki, but children from any later marriage would not be recognised. This tattoo could be used if a woman was married into an area subject to raiding by groups seeking ariki bloodlines.

Variations of the scroll pattern were used as well as the symbol for a captured woman of rank, which looks like a safety pin with extra bars across it.

Ihu

A nose spiral marked a woman as a servant to a person of higher rank. This may also be combined with a mouth ray to indicate she was a servant to an arikinui.

Back and leg tattoo

These were tribal and marked a woman married out. The other tattoos also had recognisable tribal forms. Cruise in 1820 mentions some women who had a few lines on the legs.³⁸

Taurewarewa: tangi tattoo

At the time of a tangi women often cut themselves with volcanic glass then in memory rubbed pigment into the cuts, making criss-cross lines.

Moko kuri

Moko kuri is known from an illustration made by Edward Tregear following a verbal description by John White.³⁹ It illustrates a plaitwork pattern consisting of groups of three lines placed alternately horizontally and vertically. The pattern is said to cover the whole face but this is not correct. The pattern covered the lower half of the face of a woman who was of the second lineage on her mother's side. It was a rare form of tattoo.

Moko tapu

Women set apart by male moko. They could have some elements of male design such as the beginnings of tiwhana rays over the eyebrows (a rank granted by the taioपुरu), upper lip, pihere patterns in the warunga area (indicating protected knowledge), and a kauae or chin design as for a male (a sign that the rank granted was hereditary). A woman may also have had half a male tattoo to set her apart as unmarried, there being no males of equal rank. A complete male ariki tattoo was considered appropriate for a statue of the Virgin made by Patoramu Tamatea of Ngāti Pīkiao for the chapel at Maketu about 1845. Ngāi Tahu women, like the wife of Pokeni in 1844, had one half of the face tattooed like a man. Several other older women of Ngāi Tahu were also marked in this way.⁴⁰ A female prisoner at the Bay of Islands in 1820 was tattooed almost as much as a man.⁴¹

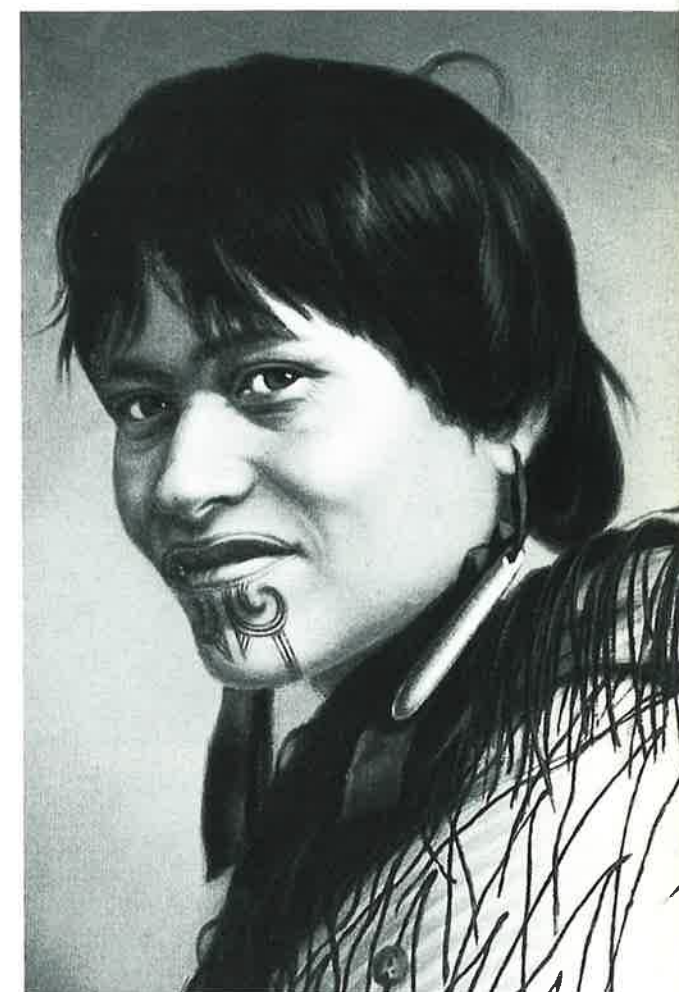
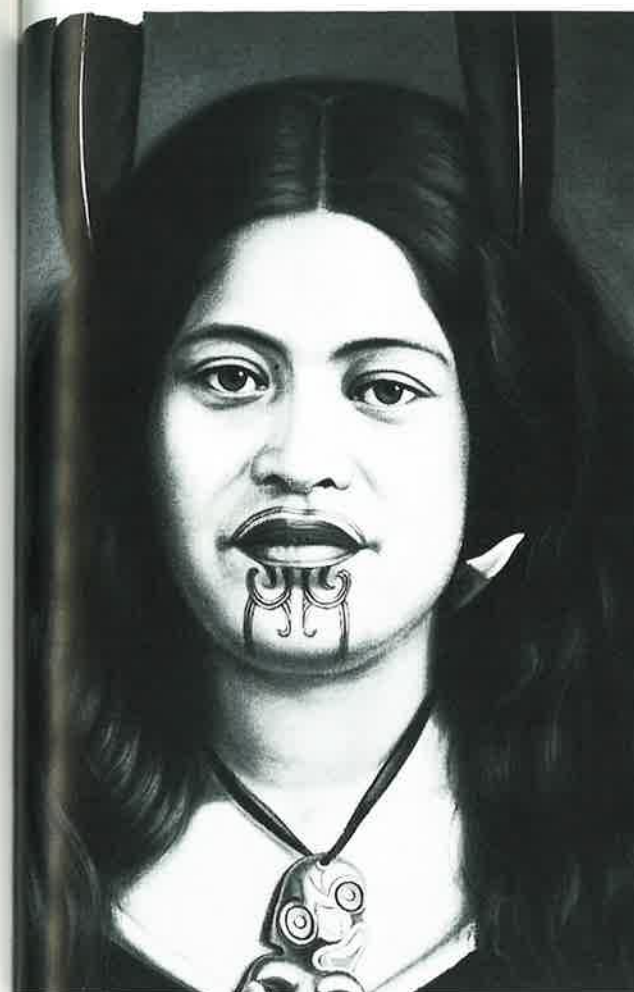
Female figure, Te Hemo. Carved in Wanganui style, a female with buttock tattoo on one side, indicating she was a tohunga, a graduate of the ariki whare wānanga as the eldest in her family. The moko on her lips together with the buttock tattoo mean she could only be Te Hemo, who married Paikea. In the North Island she is known as Te Hamo who married Porourangi. She is tapu, with an open mouth, with four lines above the mouth, three below representing the ira atua, life force of the gods. The female principle gave a gift of the waters of life to her descendants. *British Museum, London (7228). Presented by Franks*





He Ruahine, a woman of rank of Tūhoe and Ngāti Tūwharetoa of Taupo. Between her brows is the tattoo design of a person of the second line who is tapu. Her chin moko identifies her tribe and confirms her status as descended from the male line on both sides (hook in spiral). At the sides of the mouth there are vertical lines showing that she was protected by the taiopuru. She was a mareikura descended from the first line shown by the three lines above her lip. Again, she can only be Te Mihi Hauhau. Otago Museum, Dunedin (D10 285), Hocken Collection

E Kō Nga Tūparehuia of Ngāti Wai. The chin tattoo with four points identifies the lady as the mana for Te Tai Tokerau. There are three lines above the top lip indicating she was of the first line. The tattoo with spirals coming from outside and the centre design plus the term of address 'E Kō' ('E cao') make the identification fairly certain. Tūparehuia would also have been addressed as 'Nga'. She was alive in 1824. Drawing by Jules Le Jeune of La Coquille, 1824. Service Historique de la Marine, Paris



Pari Wātene of Ngāti Maru, painted by Lindauer about 1878. She was the daughter of Hemi Wātene. She was descended from male lines on both sides. The two lines above the top lip and the hooks on the interior pendants indicate she was of the third line of descent. Auckland City Art Gallery

Ana Rupene of Ngāti Maru, painted by Lindauer about 1878. Her moko indicates that she is from the male line on both sides and that her marriage has been approved by the tohunga. Auckland City Art Gallery



Left: Niapo of Kiahari, Hawkes Bay. Angas watercolour 1844, detail. Niapo was a chieftainess by birth and recognised as such. The top lip motifs and the spirals are those of a protected person: any harm done to her would have been avenged. She came from Hawkes Bay. *South Australian Museum, Adelaide*

Below: Ina Te Papatahi of Ngāti Hao, Ngāpuhi. Goldie painting after 1902, detail. Ina was a woman of rank, a wahine tapairu who is ahukuruku, that is, not restricted by tapu and who is also an expert on weaving and tukutuku. *Auckland War Memorial Museum*



Madonna by Patoromu Tamatea, 1845. The Virgin is shown with a male tattoo so is utterly tapu. She could not engage in sex therefore the only way she could have the child she is holding is by virgin birth. She has a supreme taiopuru moko on both sides. The Catholic Church rejected the carving as insulting the Virgin when it does the opposite. *Auckland War Memorial Museum*



Above: Whakapakoko of Emere Paora of Ngāti Kahungunu. Emere Paora, a granddaughter of Rongomaiwahine, was ritually male with the same rank as an awaroa, that is, nōawanui. She is shown as a male nōaia of the second line but has spirals on the upper lip indicating that she was descended from the first line. *Russel-Gates Museum, Bournemouth (28.24)*

Left: Tekoteko, 1796, Te Āitanga a Mahaki. The tekoteko obtained by Wilson of the *Duff* in 1796 depicts Tauheikuri, daughter of Kahungunu, with her son Mahaki beneath her. The identification is carried in the carving which gives the genealogy but also by her tattoo of four lines around the mouth. *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa*



Above left: Tekoteko, Queen Charlotte Sound, 1820. Collected by Bellinghausen of the Russian expedition. She is female but has male-style tattoo equivalent to a kōhere in status, he wahine keirungawaihua. She was the daughter of a person of the second line, and probably the eldest if the moko is correct. There are other records such as the wife of Pokeni of Kāi Tahu, Otago who was tattooed like a man. This would normally mean she was tapu but it may have not been the case in the South Island. Her tribe appears to be Ngāti Mamoe. *Maklukho-Maklaty, Institute of Ethnography, St Petersburg (76/118)*

Above right: Tekoteko, Queen Charlotte Sound, 1820. A similar tekoteko of a tattooed female of lower rank in Wanganui-Cook Strait style with the rank of nōawanui, that is, of the third line. Her tribe seems to be Ngāti Kuia. *Maklukho-Maklaty, Institute of Ethnography, St Petersburg (736/118), Bellinghausen Collection*



Old woman of Tauranga. Drawn by Horatio Robley in 1864. The beginning of forehead rays shows she was given rank by the taiopuru. The upper lip includes the koru design of protected knowledge. She was a teacher in charge of the eldest daughter of the taiopuru. As such her rank is nōawanui. Her lower chin design indicates that her rank descends to her children. *The National Library of Australia*



Female servant to a taiopuru. Drawn by Jules Le Jeune, 1824. She has two lines on the upper lip, three below and spirals on the nose. She also has a pattern on the chin, two bars across the corner of the lip and perhaps two bars on the forehead. She was a servant to a person of taiopuru rank, probably E Kō Nga Tūparehuia who was certainly of that rank. She also has tangi lines on her breasts and arms. Lacerations were made during funerals and later were made permanent by having pigment rubbed in. *Service Historique de la Marine, Paris*

Tribal patterns and tribal identification

There are a number of levels at which tribal patterns could be recognised:

1. By knowing the tattoo style of particular tohunga tā moko. Such a style may be copied by other tattooists in the tribal area. The bold three-line female tattoo of Waikato is an example but the height of the tiwhana rays on the forehead in male moko of Waikato is just as distinctive.

2. By the placing of tribal patterns on specific parts of the body, for example on the backs or legs of slaves or on the legs of women married into another tribe, where the donor tribe wished the marriage to be seen. Women were usually married up in rank rather than down so that the return of political support meant something.

3. By giving information in specific parts of the moko to identify the tribal origins and connections of the person. The pōniana or pōngiangia pattern of the nose was specifically used for this purpose. The number of lines specifically identified the tribes of mother and father. Where there was no pōniana the whakatara was used on the lower nose spiral with the points identifying the tribe of mother and father. Both of these could be taken in conjunction with the rau-rau, also known as hiora, or pūtaringa section below the ear. In this section the area of authority was given as a koru spiral for north, south, east or west of the already identified tribe or wāka. At the highest levels the koru spirals above the eyes served the same purpose.

In female moko the lines above and below the top lip, the number of lines making up the moko and especially the internal lines in the two central lower points are tribal identification.

In both male and female, if the rank was high then that was sufficient without any specific tribal identification. You were expected to know who it was and moreover it was very bad manners to ask!

- 36. Anderson 1967 Vol II p 810
- 37. L'Horme 1982 p 125
- 38. Cruise 1824 p 267
- 39. White 1887 frontis.
- 40. Shortland 1851 pp 16-18
- 41. Cruise 1824 p 267

THE FUTURE FOR MĀORI TATTOO

In 1860 the government of the day decided to support with troops a purchase from a minor chief, Te Teira, of a block of land at Waitara in Taranaki despite the protests of the hereditary ariki Te Rangitake, also known as Wiremu Kingi. This was in March 1860 and even though the Kohimarama Conference was held from July to August 1860, which 200 chiefs attended, the whittling away of the role of the ariki was already under way. The ranked families have found their functions usurped by government-funded appointed committees. Recently there have been moves to revive the traditional mana base of Māori society, to bring the ranking families back. One effect could be another renaissance of female moko and perhaps of some form of male moko.

About 1864 Patuone, ariki of Ngāpuhi, said: 'Now you chase me away. In the time of my grandchildren's grandchildren you will come looking for me.'

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THE AUTHORS

Kō Te Riria was born in 1930 at Wairoa, Hawkes Bay. When he was three years old he was taken into Te Arikimokowhakaiteiti, a whare wānanga or college of learning, in which he remained except for short periods until 1944. He then spent some time in the Urewera and on the Whanganui River learning and engaging in practical tasks under the supervision of tribal elders from those areas. He did not attend a European school. In 1944 he was blessed to succeed his grandfather as Te Ariki Taiopuru Kō Te Riria V. The Assembly of the United Tribes of which he is head reopened its doors and met in formal session once again in 1988.

David Simmons was born in 1930 in Auckland, the only member of his family not born in Hawkes Bay. His father was known on the East Coast as Rangi Te Puru and had a very special relationship with Te Riria's elders. David Simmons was educated at Sacred Heart College and the Universities of Paris, Rennes, Victoria and Auckland. He was a teacher in primary and secondary schools in New Zealand and Europe before becoming Keeper in Anthropology at Otago Museum, Ethnologist and later Assistant Director of Auckland Museum. He retired from Auckland Museum in 1986. He is the author of many books, editor of and contributor to others, and author of over sixty articles on Māori and Moriori topics.